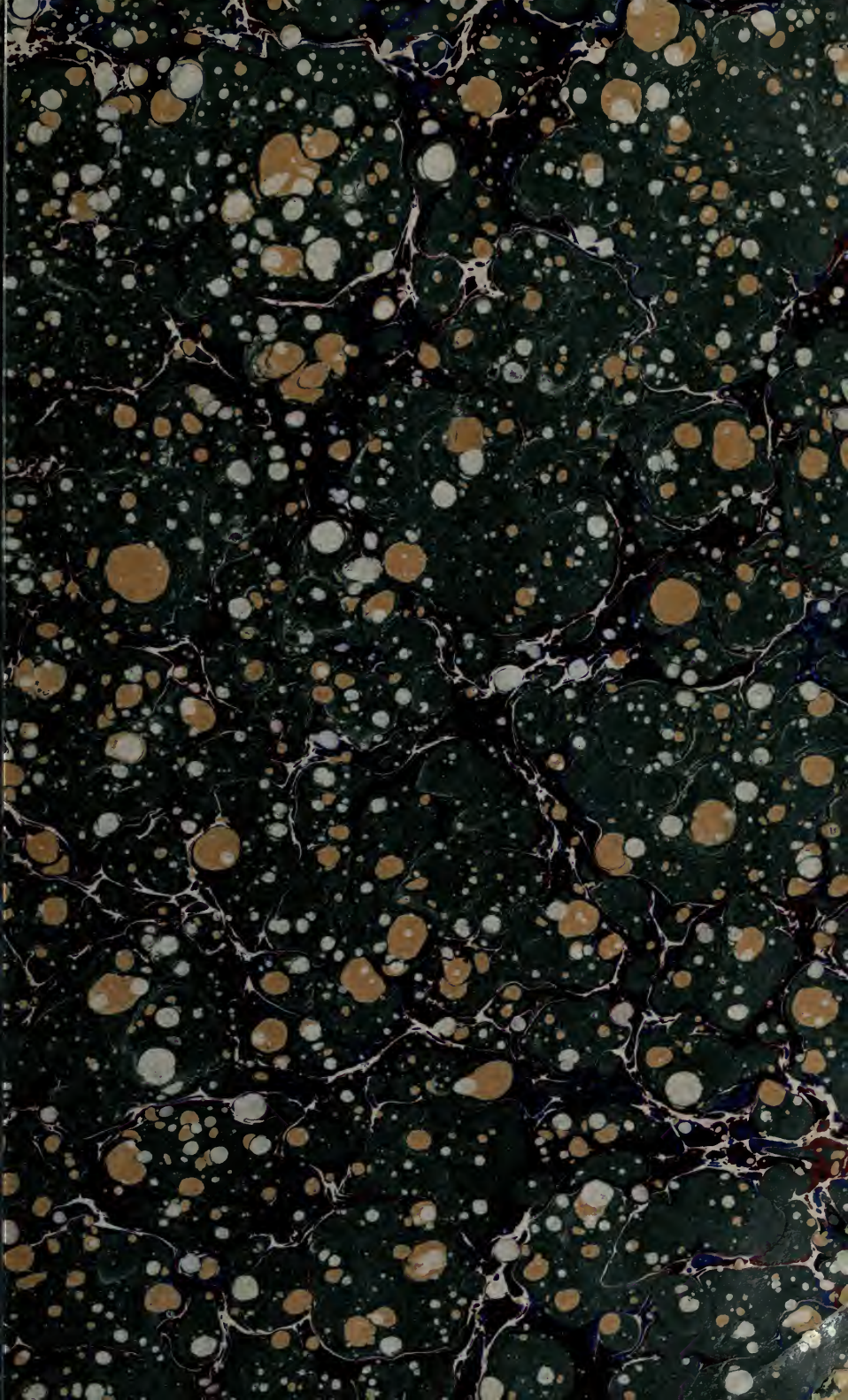


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Ancient Cambridgeshire:

OR AN ATTEMPT TO TRACE

ROMAN AND OTHER ANCIENT ROADS

THAT PASSED THROUGH

THE COUNTY OF CAMBRIDGE;

WITH

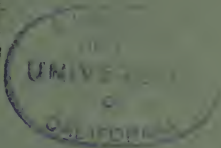
A RECORD OF THE PLACES WHERE ROMAN COINS
AND OTHER REMAINS HAVE BEEN FOUND.

SECOND EDITION, MUCH ENLARGED.

BY

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, AND PROFESSOR OF BOTANY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.



CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED FOR THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

SOLD BY

DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; AND MACMILLAN & CO.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL & SONS.

1883.

Price Five Shillings.

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AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

PREFACE.

IT is not pretended that the subject treated of in this Essay is exhausted, but only that all the facts relating to it have been collected and arranged, as far as they are known to me. I have not knowingly neglected any source of information which is open to me. As was remarked in the preface to the first edition, this treatise has gradually attained its present size from a very small original. It consisted at first of a short account of the Roman roads which crossed each other at CAMBORITUM (Cambridge); and did not describe them, except through a very few miles on each side of that place. As such it was communicated to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society on March 4, 1850. But circumstances caused delay in its publication, and it was gradually extended until it included the whole of the known Roman remains in the county. In this latter form it was issued by the Society in 1853, as No. 3 of the 8vo. series of the *Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian*

Society. At the request of the Society I have now prepared a new edition, including all the additional information obtained since 1853, and also such corrections as required to be made. In doing this it has been thought best not to alter the plan or arrangement of the little book more than is absolutely necessary. An attempt has again been made to trace all the roads in the county which appear to have been used in early times, pointing out their probable origin; to name all the places where Roman antiquities or coins have been found, with the authorities for them; and to describe the ancient ditches, camps and other earth-works.

The position of Cambridgeshire as part of the territory of the South Gyrwas, on the frontiers of East Anglia and Mercia, and its consequently disturbed state during much of the so-called Anglo-Saxon period, has unfortunately caused it to be very deficient in records of those centuries, during which we might reasonably have expected to find the ancient roads and sites mentioned in charters: as an illustration of what we have lost, reference may be made to the proof noticed in a future page (110) that the so-called *Cnut's Dyke* is older than the time of King Cnut, derived from its mention, under another of its names, in a charter of a date anterior to his reign.

Very small pretensions are made to originality, but in all cases the quotations have been taken from the works themselves. What is here collected will shew how thoroughly this district was occupied in the

Roman period, for there is scarcely a parish in which Roman coins have not been found, and many where Roman occupation is shewn by the remains of their fictile manufactures. No attempt has been made to enumerate all the pre-Roman remains, although it is believed that most of them are noticed; especially when they adjoin, or are in any way associated with Roman remains.

The plans given in this treatise have been made with care, and are, it is believed, accurate, but that of Camboritum has been materially corrected for the present edition. The modern parts of the plans of the stations at Cambridge and Grantchester are reduced from Baker's large map of Cambridge; the plan of the station at Bury is derived from an eye-sketch and measurement made by pacing the ground; the villa at Comberton was carefully measured and laid down to scale by my friend the Rev. J. J. Smith, late Fellow of Caius College, but unfortunately the scale is lost.

The general outline of the accompanying map, and the positions of modern places in the county, have been derived from Walker's Map of Cambridgeshire. No modern villages are marked upon it which do not tend in some way to point out the position of sites mentioned in this treatise; but all places are inserted, and their names underlined, at or near to which Roman remains or coins have been found. No modern roads are introduced. An attempt has been made to point out by a different mode of drawing the supposed

origin, more or less certain antiquity, and the course of the several ancient roads: the expense of colouring being one which it has been thought better to avoid. Only such of the watercourses are given as appeared to be necessary for the purpose of shewing the ancient state of the country or the position of places.

British antiquities, such as stone implements, palstaves, spear-heads and swords of bronze, beads of glass, &c., have occurred throughout the county, but they are rarely specially noticed, unless they are in some way associated with the Roman remains.

CAMBRIDGE,

Jan. 1, 1883.

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ANCIENT CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

It is remarkable that until the issue of the former edition of this treatise no separate work had appeared concerning the ancient state of this county. But, although no separate or connected work on this interesting subject exists, there are scattered materials from which a considerable amount of information may be obtained. The persons to whom we are chiefly indebted for the knowledge that they have preserved for us are few in number, but their remarks are of very great value, from having been made before the inclosure of the parishes destroyed all traces of many of the ancient roads and other antiquities. They are:

(1) Dr William Bennet, formerly fellow of Emmanuel College, and afterwards Bishop of Cloyne (1790). Large extracts from his manuscript account of the Roman roads are printed in *Lysons's Magna Britannia*.

(2) Dr Charles Mason, formerly fellow of Trinity College, and rector of Orwell, who made a trigonometrical survey of the county, and many manuscript notes. These were used by Gough in his edition of *Camden's Britannia*, and by Lysons in his *Magna Britannia*, but the originals are not now to be found.

(3) We have the very learned, but fanciful works of Stukeley, entitled *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 1724; and *Medallic History of Carausius*, 1757—1759.

(4) Much valuable matter and many judicious remarks are to be found in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, 1782.

(5) Dr William Warren, formerly Vice-Master of Trinity Hall, wrote a dissertation upon the subject of the site of the Grantacæster of Bede, which is said to have "demonstrated the thing as amply as a matter of that sort is capable of," that that place is now represented by the Castle End of Cambridge. Brydges informs us that it was the intention of his brother, Dr R. Warren, to publish this tract which came into his hands after the death of the Vice-Master (*Restituta*, iv. 388). It does not appear that he carried out his intention, nor have I succeeded in learning the fate of the manuscript. A note in Gough's *Camden* led me to hope that it might exist in the archives of the *Spalding Gentleman's Society*, but it does not appear that the paper was ever communicated to them, for their minutes, as I learn through the kindness of Mr Charles Green, one of the few members of that ancient and celebrated society, merely record the reading of a letter from the Rev. Mr Pegg, on Sept. 4, 1735, stating the fact of Dr Warren's demonstration, but not giving its mode of proof. As Dr Warren left some manuscripts to Trinity Hall, concerning the antiquities of that college, I had some faint hopes that the missing tract might be preserved amongst them, but the Rev. W. Marsh, some time Vice-Master of that society, had the kindness to examine the papers left by Dr Warren, and informed me that the treatise on Grantacæster is not amongst them.

Having made these preliminary remarks, I proceed to the description of the ancient roads which pass through the county; and, as it will be most convenient to take Cambridge as a

starting-point from which to trace those that diverged from thence, it will also be proper to occupy ourselves shortly with Cambridge itself.

I. CAMBRIDGE.

The Roman station at Cambridge was wholly situated to the north of the river Cam, and a considerable part of three of its sides may still be easily traced. If we commence by entering the town from Huntingdon, and immediately turn to the right, we soon find ourselves upon the top of the lofty bank of a broad and deep ditch which was apparently 10 or 12 feet deep, and perhaps nearly 40 in width. A row of cottages, called Pleasance Row, stands upon it and there is a steep descent from their front to their back walls. Bowtell (MS. ii. 96) says that the width of another part of the ditch was seen in 1802, when men were digging across a spot skirting the east side of the station to obtain brick-earth. The place was called Blackamore Piece, and the ditch appeared to have been from 10 to 12 feet deep, and 39 broad. Returning to the bank and passing in front of the Storey's Alms-houses we arrive at the western angle of the ancient town, rounding it, a row of cottages called Mount Pleasant is found to stand upon the top of the rampart, which may be followed through nearly its whole length on that south-western side of the station. Traces of the ditch in front of this face of the fortification could recently be seen, but it is now filled up with rubbish and a road formed in it. The lane called Northampton Street, by which an entrance is obtained into the town from the St Neots road, seems to be carried along the bottom of the rampart, which passing to the south of St Giles's church, defended the south-eastern side in the time of the Romans. Perhaps there was no ditch on this side, it was sufficiently

defended by the river, a branch of which ran close to it, as we learn from the foundation deeds of St Giles's church, preserved in the Cottonian Library (Gough's *Camden*, 130). The continuation of this river-face of the fortification is well seen in Magdalene College garden, where a terrace-walk is formed upon the vallum, and the garden upon what was the bed of the river. The line of Roman fortifications may still be traced for a short distance along the north-eastern side of the old town between the Ely road and the Cromwellian works near the Castle Hill. Half of the north-western side also has been levelled. The extent of the site was measured by Dr Stukeley, who, however, erroneously includes Pythagoras School, more correctly called Merton Hall, within the walls, and found by him to be "2500 Roman feet from east to west, and 2000 from north to south." Even allowing for the error of including Pythagoras School within the station, it is very difficult to conjecture by what mode Dr Stukeley obtained such a large extent for it. The Roman foot is scarcely $\frac{4}{10}$ of an inch shorter than the English foot, and the real extent of the station (taking the measurements from a recent survey) is about 1650 feet from north to south, and 1600 from east to west, measuring diagonally, as Stukeley seems to have done; or the north-east and south-west sides are each about 1320 feet long, and the north-west and south-east about 930 in length¹.

Bowtell states that some remains of the Roman wall were found in 1804; his words are: "On the interior side of this fosse stood a very ancient wall, some remains whereof were discovered in March 1804, when 'improvements' were making thereabouts by destroying a part of the vallum towards the north-west end, which wall abutted eastwards on the great road near to the turnpike-gate. [This turnpike-gate was at

¹ The outline of the station is shewn by the broken line on the plan, where unfortunately the name of St Neots is misspelt.

the point where the Histon road branches from that to Huntingdon.] The materials in the foundation of this wall consisted of flinty pebbles, fragments of Roman bricks, and ragstone so



firmly cemented that prodigious labour with the help of pick-axes, &c. was required to separate them. A part of the wall was consequently left undisturbed, and the fosse filled up with

earth" (Bowt. MS. ii. 98). He also states that men digging at about the middle of the east side of the station met with the foundations of a stone building, supposed to be part of the Decuman Gate, and that directly opposite across the station similar foundations were seen in 1810 on occasion of the erection of the original building of the Old, then called the Lancastrian, Schools (ii. 99). Mr Bowtell measured one of many Roman bricks found on the edge of the fosse when the Gaol was built, and states it to have been 16 inches by 12 inches, and from $\frac{3}{8}$ to $1\frac{3}{8}$ in thickness (ii. 166). In 1804 at about 100 paces from the north-west side of the ditch, and to the west of the turnpike-road, several antiquities were found, such as a cornelian intaglio set in a finger-ring of silver, and representing Mercury with the caduceus in his left and a purse in his right hand; also a bronze figure of Mercury, two inches high, with wings on his bonnet and feet, and holding a purse (Bowt. MS. ii. 175). Many Roman coins have been found near to the castle (Gough, *Camden*, ii. 219) from an early period; and in 1802 and the seven following years, 41 of first brass, 25 of second, and 86 of third brass, also 16 of silver, besides others of which 3 were British, were found there (Bowt. MS. ii. 191). The following list of the Emperors, &c. is derived from Vol. VIII. of Bowtell's MS. at Downing Coll., in which the coins are all fully described. They were: "of first brass, coins of Nero, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina, Commodus, Didius Julianus, Macrinus, Severus Alexander, Julia Mammæa, Gordianus, Balbinus, Quintus Herennius Hostilianus, Julius Philippus. Of second brass, of Germanicus, Claudius, Vespasian, Trajan, Severus Alexander, Faustina, Probus, Antoninus Pius, Philippus, Gallienus, Carausius, Constantinus Chlorus, Valerius Severus, Decentius, Theodosius, Constans, Constantinus, Maximianus, Magnentius, Valerius Licinianus Licinius. Of third brass, of Claudius, Gallienus, Tacitus, Victorinus, Claudius Gothicus, Aurelianus, Tetricus, Carausius, Allectus, Fl. Max.

Theodora, Carus, Helena, Constantinus, Posthumus, Constantius, Crispus, Constantinus Junior, Constans, Magnentius, Valentinianus, Valens, Theodosius, Gratianus, Arcadius, Honorius. The silver coins were of Trajan, Hadrian, Faustina, Caracalla, Severus Alexander, Posthumus, Domitian, Gordianus, Otacilla Severa, Philippus."

A second brass coin of Otacilla was found near the castle in 1846 (*Camb. Antiq. Soc. Cat. of Coins*, 13); a second brass of Vespasian at the same place and date (l. c. 7); and in 1852 a first brass of Gordianus, and a second brass of Nero. The coins have chiefly belonged to the lower empire. Indeed coins are constantly being found on the site of Camboritum.

But such discoveries are not confined to that site, for coins are often found in Modern Cambridge and at Barnwell. Coins of the lower empire, as of Constantine, Licinius, and other of the later emperors, and of the type inscribed URBS . ROMA have been dug up in Sidney Street. At Barnwell an Antoninus Pius with the reverse Britannia was found in 1853. Others need not be enumerated, as enough has been stated to shew that such coins are not uncommon.

Urns, Pateræ embellished with figures, Querns, Lachrymatories, Armillæ of bronze, a variety of Amphoræ and fragments of green and blue glass were found near the castle in 1802—6 (*Bowt. ii.* 166, 167, 168), and also more recently urns have been found there.

Stukeley thought that there was a ford at the "Great Bridge," near Magdalene College (*Itin. Cur.* 78). Mr Essex says, that when he was superintending the excavations for the foundation of the Great Bridge in 1754, he saw those of the ancient stone-bridge over the river Graunt, built on piles. It consisted of two small round arches as he learned from finding some of the stones that formed the arch. Mr Essex does not call this bridge Roman but only "very ancient." He says that there was probably a paved ford there in the time of the Romans,

which "very plainly shewed itself in the year 1754 as a firm pavement of pebbles." At the same time he states that several pieces of Roman antiquities were found, one of them being a weight, which Dr Stukeley called a representation of Carausius's supposed Empress Oriuna (Bowt. v. 944, 945). In Lysons's *Cambridgeshire* (44) Mr Essex is stated to have considered the bridge to be Roman, and that the ford was an idea of Stukeley's. (See also *Reliq. Gal.* 53.)

Mr Benjamin Bevan, son of the engineer who superintended the erection of the present Great Bridge, kindly placed in the author's hands some of his father's papers relative to its erection, which took place in the year 1823. This bridge was preceded by one of stone erected in 1754, and which was itself the successor of a series of wooden bridges replacing each other from a period closely succeeding if not preceding the Norman conquest. We have seen that in 1754 Mr Essex saw the foundations of an ancient round-arched stone bridge when excavating for the bridge of stone erected by him. Mr Essex's bridge was removed in 1823 to make way for the present iron bridge. In digging down to the foundation of the south abutment on Sept. 26, 1823, Mr A. Browne, the contractor, found it to be "very different from that on the north side; it is one course of stone deeper than that, and the stone and masonry is laid on two courses of bond timber (laid across each other), each about $6\frac{1}{2}$ or 7 inches thick by 13 or 14 inches wide. The timbers in each course are laid close to each other, and form an uniform mass of timber about 13 inches thick under the whole abutment....I think there are no piles under it. It is 9 feet 11 inches from the high water-mark to the bottom of the stone-work, and about 11 feet to the bottom of the lowest course of timber. The soil under the old abutment, and where we are excavating for the new part [the new bridge is wider than the old one], is as strong and firm a gault as I have ever seen, without any springs of water in it, as on the

other side" (*Letter from Mr A. Browne to B. Bevan, Esq.*, dated 26 Sept. 1823). On the 29th and 30th of September Mr Bevan was at Cambridge, and a minute of his instructions shews that he left the old bed of timber undisturbed, merely extending it so as to form a foundation large enough for the new bridge. He states that he "found the planks spiked down very firm," and "the lower course of hewn Totternhoe stone set on a thin course of about three inches of clay." It is not clear to what date this timber foundation ought to be referred, but it has appeared desirable to record its existence. Totternhoe is in Bedfordshire, and not far from the *Icknield Way*, and therefore possessing an easy means of communication with Cambridge from a very early period.

"A Lachrymatory" was found in removing the foundations of the old Provost's Lodge of King's College, which stood between the present front of the College and King's Parade. A small Roman vessel was found in the excavation for a sewer in Park Street in 1848. A patera of Samian ware, and a lachrymatory of white clay were found at the south-west corner of Northampton Street in 1847 (C. A. S. Museum). It is stated in Gough's *Camden* that Roman bricks were to be seen in his time in the north-west corner of St Peter's church-wall.

In excavations made in the garden of Trinity Hall in 1880, close to Garrett's Hostel Lane, many Roman remains were found, at the depth of a few feet, but all broken (*C. A. S. Report*, March 1, 1880). The excavators met with "(a) garden soil and recent debris, 1—2 ft.; (b) earth containing bones, pottery, &c., referred to a period dating back from the xviiith cent. to earlier mediæval times, 2½—3½ ft.; (c) pits with black earth, bones, pottery, &c., of Roman age, of irregular depth: some were bottomed at about 10 ft. from the surface; (d) low river-terrace gravel." "In (c) there were the usual layers of oyster shells, muscles, bones of animals which had been used for food,

and broken pottery. There were many fragments of a dark ware, differing in form from the common types found at Chesterford, and a few bits of Samian ware, one of which was a small saucer with a simple pointed leaf-pattern around the margin; another was a piece of a handsome basin with a winged figure and part of a hunting scene in relief. Also a nearly perfect mortarium and some bits of glass were found."

That there was a tolerably large station here in the time of the lower empire cannot be doubted; but the name borne by it does admit of doubt. This question was discussed at great length by the antiquaries of the eighteenth century. It seems most probable that it is the CAMBORITUM of the Itineraries which are peculiarly confused in their reference to this district. That name is given to this station by Gale (*Anton.* 92), where he derives it from "*Cam*, 'fluvius,' *rhyd*, 'vadum'." He is generally believed to be correct; but Stukeley (*Car.* ii. 139) places that station at Chesterford, and Horsley (*Brit. Rom.* 430) at Icklingham. In the same manner DUROLIPONS has been placed at Godmanchester, which is now generally allowed to be its true site, at Ramsey, and even at Cambridge. Cambridge is the *Caer Graunt* of Nennius (ed. *Gale*, 115), for I cannot agree with those who place that "city" at Grantchester where, as I hope to shew, there was only a small fort. Stukeley (*Car.* ii. 160, &c.) invented a city of GRANTA which is unknown to antiquaries, but which he supposed to have been founded by his favourite Emperor Carausius after the compilation of the Itineraries. The name given by Nennius is doubtless a fact in his favour. To conclude, in the words of Bishop Bennet after he had carefully examined the subject, "I feel myself incompetent to affix any certain name to the station at Cambridge, although, if I was obliged to decide, I should on the whole prefer that of CAMBORITUM." The late Dr Guest told me that he thought that Cambridge was derived from *Cam-to-brig*.

The position of this fortified town was well chosen, for it

is situated on one of the most commanding spots to be found in the district. Its site is the projecting extremity of a low range of hills, backed by a slight depression, or broad and shallow valley. On at least two of its sides the ground fell away rather rapidly from the foot of the ramparts, and the river defended the fourth side. It fronts the only spot where the river could be easily passed by the Roman way now called the *Via Devana*, or indeed approached without traversing extensive morasses. Grantchester possesses none of these advantages, nor is it situated upon either of the great Roman roads.

It is highly probable that the Saxon town of *Grantabrigge* stood upon the same site as the Roman CAMBORITUM, and that it was at a late period, perhaps even after the Norman conquest, that the principal part of the town was transferred to the south side of the river. May not the construction of the Norman castle have been a promoting cause of this removal of the population, as was the case at Lincoln? The Domesday Survey informs us that twenty-seven houses were destroyed for the purpose of building or enlarging the castle at Cambridge, and that what had constituted two of the wards of the town in the time of King Edward the Confessor was then, on account of this destruction of the houses, considered as forming only one ward (*Domesday Book*, i. 189). But it is worthy of remark that the existence of the very ancient church of St Benedict shews that there was a settlement in the heart of what became Cambridge, before the time of the Normans.

Perhaps the *Caer Graunt* of the Britons is represented by the village of Grantchester, to which a British trackway will be shewn to have led, and that the Romans, finding the situation better suited for their purposes, founded CAMBORITUM at Cambridge. A similar event seems to have taken place at Norwich, where the present city represents the British town, and Caister the Roman fort in its neighbourhood (see Woodward's *Norwich*). This would remove much of the difficulty

which attends the determination of the sites of *Caer Graunt*, *Camboritum*, *Grantacæster* and *Grantebrigge*; indeed all, if Bede is allowed to have been as misinformed concerning the true name of the spot where St Etheldreda's coffin was found as he was of its material (*Caii Hist. Canteb. Acad.* 8¹).

It must however be added that the Castle Hill, which is situated within the walls of *CAMBORITUM*, is manifestly one of the ancient British tumuli, or rather perhaps look-out posts, so often found to occupy commanding sites, and to have been fortified in after times. The lower part of the hill is natural, but the upper half is in all probability artificial. The existence of this tumulus and the want of any ascertained British remains at Grantchester throw doubt upon the suggestion that *Caer Graunt* was there; as indeed does the name of Chesterton being given to the parish adjoining the Roman town to the north-east. It is remarkable that although the site of the Castle is within the walls of *Camboritum* it is nevertheless in the parish of Chesterton. Indeed the name of this village of Chesterton has excited much curiosity. Unfortunately we do not know when the name was first used to designate that parish. It may have been the site of a village when *Camboritum* was in ruins. The late Mr T. Wright thought that there was an outpost there, similar to that at Grantchester, but gives no reasons for his opinion (*Celt, Roman and Saxon*, Ed. 2, p. 134). No traces of Roman work have been noticed at Chesterton.

It may be allowable to remark here that the difficulties attending some of the Itineraries of Antoninus are very great, owing probably in part to the corruption of the text, but also

¹ Bede informs us that the nuns of Ely sent to *Grantacæster* and obtained a fine white marble sarcophagus to use at the translation of the remains of Etheldreda, but we learn from Caius that when the shrine was removed in the reign of Henry VIII. the coffin was found to be formed of common stone.

from the circuitous course taken by them. In that route with which we are interested, viz. the ITER v., it certainly does seem very remarkable that the traveller should be led from London to Colchester on his way to Lincoln; more especially as we find the *Erming Street* forming an almost direct communication between the two places. On examining the ITER VI. we find another route connecting the same stations of LONDINUM and LINDUM, but deviating from the direct course to about as great a distance to the west (to Daventry) as the ITER v. does to the east. This may perhaps be explained by supposing that these Itineraries were not meant to give a list of the stopping-places upon the great roads of Britain, but are derived from the notebook of some person visiting officially the different stations, and taking such a course as would most conveniently admit of his doing so. Indeed there is only one place of any apparent importance which is situated upon the southern part of the *Erming Street*, and not visited in one or the other of these journeys, viz. AD FINES, which is placed at Braughing in Hertfordshire. An anonymous writer, who has published *The Roman Roads in England*, under the signature "A. H.", suggests with much probability that in Iter v. VILLA FAUSTINA was at Woodbridge and ICIANI at Dunwich, the travellers returning from this latter place to Colchester and proceeding along the *Via Devana* to Cambridge, which he names CAMBORITUM. By this scheme the number of miles between the stations accords reasonably well with those stated in the Itineraries, and if the object of the journey was such as I have above supposed to be probable, this deviation will not be looked upon as unlikely to have taken place. The late Lord Braybrooke considered ICIANI to have been at Chesterford, but does not, as far as I am informed, explain how he made that idea accord with the Itineraries (*Journ. Archæol. Assoc.* iii. 208). If the usual idea of the Itineraries forming a kind of road-book is adopted, we find many undoubtedly important Roman roads unnoticed in them. For instance,

the *Akeman Street* which passes through Cambridge is omitted, and also that part of the *Via Devana* which lies to the north-west of this town.

II. ANCIENT ROADS THROUGH CAMBRIDGE.

Two great lines of road passed by or through CAMBORITUM, crossing each other nearly at right angles; namely, (1) The *Akeman Street*, which starting from the north coast of Norfolk terminated by a junction with the *Foss Way* at Cirencester (CORINIUM); and (2) the so-called *Via Devana* leading from Colchester (COLONIA or CAMELODUNUM) to Chester (DEVA). (3) Some fancied roads from Cambridge are noticed after the description of these.

The other roads that passed through any part of the county were (4) the *Erming Street*, (5) the *Ickniold Way*, (6) the *Ashwell Street*, (7) the *Peddar Way*, (8) the *Fen Road*, (9) the *Ely and Spalding Way*, (10) the *Suffolk and Sawtry Way*, (11) the *Aldreth Causeway*, (12) the *Bury, Wisbeach, and Spalding Way*, (13) the *Bullock Way*, (14) *Cnut's Dyke*.

1. THE AKEMAN STREET.—(1) *Cambridge to Brancaster*. It left the northern angle of the station at CAMBORITUM, and could be traced over the open fields to King's Hedges as a track for carts, but has recently been obliterated on the inclosure of the parish of Chesterton. A Roman vase of reddish ware, full of fragments of flint, was found on Blackamore Piece¹ on the south side of the road close to the town, in 1862. I have often walked along this road to King's Hedges, where there is a large oblong camp on its southern side, which may be of Roman origin, as Roman coins (particularly one of silver with the head

¹ Blackamore Piece was named from Alderman Blackamore, who lived in the xivth century.

of Roma on one side and Castor and Pollux on horseback on the reverse) have been found there (Gale, *Anton.* 92; Gough's *Camden*, ii. 226, from the Aubrey MS.). Or, as seems more probable, King's Hedges camp may have been made by William I., who is believed to have occupied it during his war with the Anglo-Saxons of the Isle of Ely. On the side of this camp bounded by the Roman Road a large ditch was perhaps not to be expected, but upon the other sides there must undoubtedly have been ditches if it was of Roman origin. Scarcely any traces of large external ditches are now to be seen; such may, nevertheless, have been there; for the embankment, which has been of enormous width, is now so much lowered by the removal of the soil as to be throughout the greater part of its extent only faintly traceable. The camp is situated in a quite level country, and is large enough to have been the site of a Roman station; whereas if belonging to that people it can hardly have been more than a *castrum æstivum*. If a Norman work its size is not an objection, for the armies of that period, consisting chiefly of cavalry, required a very large space relatively to their number. Careful measurements give the following dimensions for this encampment:

Length parallel to the Akeman Street . . .	738 yds.
Width	295
Thickness of the embankment in the best preserved parts	13

The corners are rectangular.

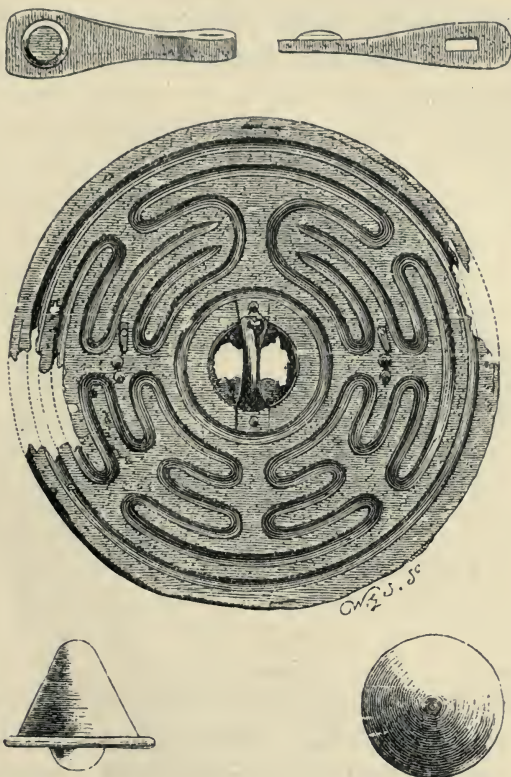
Also, at a short distance from the road on the other side there is a camp of the form of a four-centred arch called Arbury, which may have been used by the Romans, as seems to be generally supposed, but from its shape is most probably of British origin. The cord of the arch is nearly obliterated, but as far as can be made out it was about 286 yards in length, and is said to have been very lofty. The width of the ditch, or of

the bank, cannot be determined as they are nearly destroyed by cultivation. Both these camps are in Chesterton parish, although one side of each of them forms part of its boundary. I do not know of any camp or fort nearer to that village, which is about two miles distant. Coins of silver and copper of Trajan, Hadrian, and Faustina have been found at Chesterton, as I learned from Mr E. Litchfield; also one of Carausius now in Dr Churchill Babington's collection. From King's Hedges the road still exists in the form of a country lane, in some parts presenting the usual raised form of Roman roads, as far as Landbeche, where a coin of Carausius, also in Dr Babington's collection, was found in 1861, and other small coins are often found; and may then be faintly traced to its junction with the Cambridge and Ely road near Denny Abbey. There it bore slightly to the right of the present road, and crossed the Old Ouse "at a ford near an Ozier-holt, half a mile below [Stretham] ferry," "having crossed the road and ditch and being visible until it dips into the fen" (Bennet in *Lysons's Camb.* 45); then (passing by the east end of Grunty Fen) was continued to near Ely.

Mr W. Marshall of Ely has a first brass coin of Trajan, which was found in 1853 near to the Ely Poor-house; and about 30 much defaced Roman coins found near that city are in the museum there. Amongst these occur coins of Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Carausius and Gratian; and there are also two bow-shaped fibulæ in the same collection (*Archæol. Journ.* xix. 365). Mr Marshall Fisher says (l.c.) that there was undoubtedly a "Roman camp" at about two miles to the S.W. of Ely, where he has collected numerous fragments of pottery and other Roman relics. This spot is probably situated near to Witchford, to the south of the Ely and Witchford road and just to the north of a road running parallel to it at about a quarter of a mile distance.

In Coveney Fen, not far from Ely, two fine bronze circu-

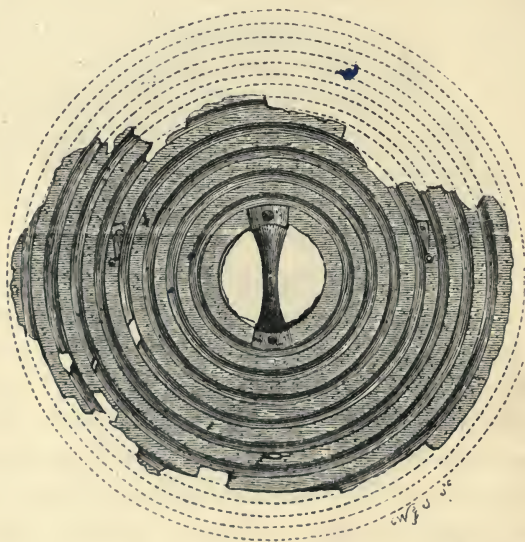
lar shields, now in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's collection, were found in 1846. They are fully described and illustrated by four beautiful plates in the *Quarto Publications* of the C. A. S. (Vol. II.), and their backs shown by the two cuts here given: the curious bosses and fasteners (?) being repre-



sented of the full size, the shields themselves of one-eighth of the true size.

From Ely the road went to Littleport, where it crossed the Old Ouse river. Stukeley derives the name of that place from Porth, the Welsh term for a road (*Car.* 143). A gold coin of Valerianus has been found at Littleport. The road then went to

a farm called Cold Harbour, or Coham, as Dr Bennet names it, where he informs us that the track was "visible." This farm is situated on the boundary of the county of Cambridge. We then pass into Norfolk, when the road seems to have turned to the right in order to cross the Little Ouse river to Southery, in and near to which place Rōman vessels have been found and also Roman coins, but mostly in very bad preservation. In Grunty Fen, near Ely, a gold torque, weighing 4 oz. and 3



grains, and 42 inches long exclusive of the solid ends, was found in 1845, having three bronze palstaves lying above it (C. A. S. Museum). At a place called Little Shallows in Burnt Fen, near Prickwillow, which is not far from the line of this road after passing Ely, a bronze vessel resembling a saucepan, with an ornamented flat handle, bearing the maker's name, BODVOGENVS. F., was found in 1838 (*Archæol.* xxviii. 436, t. 25).

Also parts of two copper mirrors were discovered in Burnt Fen, 1852. One of them seems to have been 5 inches in

diameter. Also, what was probably the handle of another, about 3 inches long, and beautifully moulded, was found at the same place. Likewise a hand of brass, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with the fingers extended and in contact, but the thumb placed at right angles to them. From the mass of metal remaining in the palm of the hand it would appear to have supported something which is lost. Several beads occurred at the same place; one of them was of blue glass, inlaid with a curious crole-pattern in white enamel; another was of pale glass, streaked with faint lines from its imperfect vitrification. Part of a bronze fibula was also obtained from the same place. These things were all lying on the clay at the bottom of the peat, and coins of Hadrian, Vespasian and Constantine were found with them (Mr. I. Deck in *Proc. Suff. Soc.* I. 312); as were also a first brass of Domitian, a first brass of Maximinus, a third brass of Constantine, a small Valentinian, an Urbs Roma, a plated denarius of Postumus, and some others illegible.

Again returning to its old direction the road passed Hilgay and Denver, when it was crossed by what I call the FEN ROAD leading from near Peterborough to Swaffham in Norfolk, which will be noticed further on. These roads probably crossed each other at a spot named Stone Cross. To the south of the angle in the lane leading towards the south from that spot there seem to be traces of an old lane with a rather raised ridge on its eastern side, crossing the road and passing through Riston Park towards Hilgay Bridge. From Denver this Roman way went by Downham, and, passing near Lynn, to Castle Rising and Brancaster, which was probably the BRANCODUNUM of the Romans. An account of the Roman works at the latter place as they existed in 1846 will be found in the *Archæological Institute's Norwich Volume* (p. 9.).

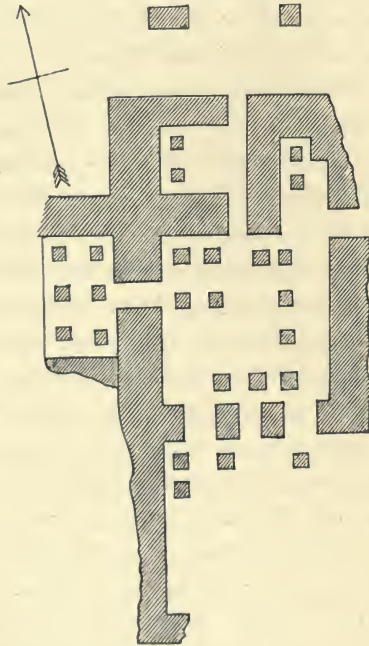
Although crossing the Fen country, this line of road is so laid down as to take the utmost advantage of the "high-lands." It first entered the fen near Denny Abbey, and escaped from it

again after crossing the Old Ouse river, at a distance of about $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile. It next left the "high-land" at Littleport to again pass the Ouse, and continued in the fen for about six miles, emerging from it after crossing the Little Ouse to Southery. Between Southery and Hilgay there is less than half a mile of fen, and similarly, there is about half a mile of it bounding the Stoke river, between Hilgay and Fordham on the way to Denver. Thus there were not more than nine miles of fen country to be crossed by the Roman Way between Cambridge and the high ground of Norfolk. We here see a beautiful example of the engineering skill of the Romans. Additional instances will be pointed out in the course of this treatise.

(2) *Cambridge to Cirencester*.—Returning to Cambridge and starting in the opposite direction. The road was, in Bishop Bennet's day, to be "easily followed along the green balks in the fields at the back of the Colleges, until it falls into the common road from Cambridge to Barton at a tumulus." Unfortunately both balks and tumulus have been removed, so that without his help we should have had little more than conjecture to lead us to the belief of its having taken this course. The late Dr F. Thackeray informed me that about 1790 he was taken to the point where the Huntingdon and Barton roads now join, and shown this Roman road extending in both directions, as it is here described. It appears to have run parallel with the north-western side of CAMBORITUM. In the field opposite to Storey's Almshouses, when dug over for "coprolites" in April and May, 1871, interments were met with, and some Roman pottery. This spot lay in the angle between the *Akeman Street* and the *Via Devana*. Leaving the town at its western angle the road crossed the gardens and the Madingley road; and soon afterwards the long lane leading from Burrell's Walk to the Coton footpath at about the middle of the last field on the right-hand side, then went close to the eastern end of the buildings of St John's

College farm (thus avoiding the angle of the Binn Brook) and joined the present Barton road at a little beyond Stone Bridge. On arriving at about the third mile-stone from Cambridge it was joined by a road from Grantchester, which will be noticed when describing the *Via Devana*. Then leaving the present road it passed through Barton church-yard, and, following a farm-track, rejoined the road to Wimpole near Lord's Bridge, at a little beyond which its raised crest was recently to be seen near to a tumulus called Hey Hill. This tumulus was opened by Dr E. D. Clarke in 1817, and a skeleton, but no antiquities, was found. It is scarcely now distinguishable. Near to the same place a chain with collars for conducting captives, and a double fulcrum to support a spit, both of iron, were found, and were presented to the Fitzwilliam Museum by Dr E. D. Clarke. The next year an amphora covered by a stone, and inclosing one black and two red terra-cotta vases, was found near to Hey Hill (*Archæologia*, XIX. 56, t. 4). The Roman track then followed almost exactly the line of the present road. "It leaves Orwell to the left, mounts the range of hills not far from Orwell wind-mill, and descends straight by a hedge-row into a lane," probably the present road "crossing Lord Hardwicke's long avenue, and presently after the turnpike-road," which now represents the *Erming Street*, "having Armingford," or, as it is called on the Ordnance map, Arrington "bridge on the left; it then enters the closes on the opposite side of the road, and seems to have borne to the right towards the Roman station at Sandy" (Lysons's *Camb.* 46). On Orwell hill there is an ancient track-way diverging from it, and keeping on the crest of the hill with a curved course until it joins the *Erming Street* at about three miles to the north of Arrington Bridge. It is called the *Mare Way*. Several miles to the north of this track there is a place named Caldecot, and to the north-east of that village, but in the parish of Hardwick, there is an old track-way called the

Port Way. These three names, as is justly remarked by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, are characteristic of spots occupied by the Romans. Rev. S. S. Lewis possesses a patera of red ware found at Orwell in 1870 and bearing the potter's mark underneath PATERATI · OF. At about a mile from Hey Hill, and just below the ridge upon which the church of Comberton stands, the remains of a Roman Villa were discovered a few years since in a bed of gravel.



The following is the account of this Villa as described and shewn to me by the Rev. J. J. Smith, then of Caius College. In February, 1842, workmen employed in digging gravel on the low ground between Comberton Church and the Bourn Brook, found some massive brickwork, and immediately informed their master of it. He (Mr Wittett) caused the

earth to be carefully cleared away, and exposed to view the foundations of an extensive Roman building. The plan made by the Rev. J. J. Smith, which is here given (see woodcut) will best convey an idea of its form. Each of the piers consisted of 10 tiles, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and 8 inches square. The walls were 3 feet thick, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height of them was standing. They consisted of masses of Ketton stone, chalk-marl, and immense flints, kinds of stone not found in that neighbourhood. The area was filled with fragments of Roman tiles and bits of coloured stucco and fresco-paintings, of which the colours continued quite bright. Flue tiles still shewed the action of the fire. A small Roman brick and two keys, fragments of glass and of coarse pottery, also three hair-pins formed of the fossil called Belemnite, were found. Coins had for some time past been found at Comberton. On the site in question two coins of Septimus Severus, one of Vespasian, one of Gallienus, one of Constantine, one of Gratianus, and one of Gordianus have been picked up. On one of the square tiles there is a remarkably distinct impression of a dog's foot, which must have been made when the tile was in the course of manufacture. (Similar marks have been found at Litlington.) Also on another there is a perfect impression of a shoe, furnished with nails like those used by country people at the present time. A small Roman lock and two keys, and much pale yellow pottery ornamented with red lines, also a fragment of the top of a vessel with a well executed female face on one side, have been found at this villa.

In the village, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the north of the villa, there is a "Maze" in excellent preservation. (Mr I. Deck, in *Camb. Chron.* Mar. 5, 1842.) The spot called the "Maze" is just in front of the National School, and if it were not known to be ancient might be passed without observation. It is angular in its outline tending to a square, and has from time immemorial been kept paved with pebbles by the villagers. The ditch and bank that once bounded it are nearly

destroyed. Its use and date I am unable to conjecture. There is said to be a similar "Maze" at Hilton, near Fenny Stanton, in Huntingdonshire.

In the same newspaper (Oct. 2, 1842) some slight additional information concerning the villa is given. A hexagonal room, with sides ten feet long and walls two feet thick, had been excavated, and many fragments of glass, Samian pottery, and fresco painting found in it. This room was destroyed before Mr Smith's plan was made. A portion of the leaden pipe and two of the hollow flue tiles through which it passed; two other tiles (measuring eighteen inches by eight) which formed the piers, and two beautiful upper millstones, nineteen inches in diameter, are in the Museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Also in the same collection there will be found a small earthen vessel, resembling the lid of a jar, formed of whitish clay, and coated with a red material so as to resemble the Samian ware.

Gibson, in his treatise upon Antoninus, expresses an opinion that there probably was a Roman town at Comberton, indeed he hints that the name may be derived from CAMBORITUM, and that place have been there situated. This idea does not seem to be well founded, nor does he place much dependence upon it, as he writes throughout his book as if he was convinced that CAMBORITUM was situated at or close to Cambridge.

To return to the description of the *Akeman Street*. In the opinion of Mr Hartshorne, with which I concur, the road did not go to Sandy, as was supposed by Dr Bennet, but "passed through Tadlow and Wrestlingworth," by a place called Cold Harbour (a name nearly always associated with Roman or British tracks) and Road Farm, both near to Biggleswade. "On the west side of that town, just below Caldecot Green, it is called Hill Lane, and thence it proceeds to the small circular encampment of Old Warden. In the immediate vicinity we meet with the well-

known accompaniments of Roman positions, in Warden Street and Loes Bush" (Hartshorne, *Salop. Antiqua*, 249), and Ickwell Bury. Where it may have run from thence I know not, but another branch of it seems to have gone by Stanford and Stanford Bury to Shefford (where the fine Roman antiquities preserved in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Museum were found) and Ampthill, to both which places it is taken by Dr Stukeley. A very full account of the discoveries at Shefford, made by Mr Tho. Inskip and others will be found in the *Archæol. Journ.* (xxxix. 275), from the pen of Mr Thompson Watson. As these interesting remarks refer to Bedfordshire they do not come within my plan, and the reader is referred to the Journal named for them.

It seems probable that another track has reached Shefford from the *Erming Street* at Baldock by the way of Norton Bury, Stotfold, Etonbury, and Clifton Bury. Indeed this part of Bedfordshire seems quite full of places of Roman origin.

Beyond Ampthill, Dr Stukeley states that it went by "Ridgeway (so called from the road), Woburn, Little Brickhill, Winslow and Edgecot (so called from the road, *agger*); it enters Oxfordshire at Elia Castra, now Alcester, proceeds by Bicester, ...to Stunsfield between Burford and Lechlade to Cirencester" (*Car.* ii. 144). He states that it is called *Akeman Street* in several parts of this course.

There is an *Akerman Street* in Ely, now called Egremen Street. As I learn from the Rev. D. J. Stewart, it is so named in an old survey of Ely, A.D. 1416—17. It does not seem probable that this had anything to do with the *Akeman Street* which, as it probably followed the course of the Littleport Road, must have been crossed by the Akerman Street nearly at right angles. Mr W. Marshall of Ely informs me that the name is written in ten different ways in old documents, viz. Akeman, Acreman, Agremony, Egremont, Egriman, &c.

Dr Bennet says concerning a supposed branch of this road

that "Dr Mason, who (being rector of Orwell) had many opportunities of examining this ground, was of opinion that traces of another road were to be seen on the south side of the river near this place [Orwell], which he conceived to have been thrown off from this in some part of its course, and to have formed the communication between Cambridge and Verulamium." Of this supposed road nothing more is known.

It must be remarked here that there is another ancient road also called *Akeman Street*, which appears to have started from Verulamium and passed by Tring and Aylesbury to Alcester, where it joins the line above described. The application of the name to this road has been supposed to be an error of the maker of an old county map, but that seems unlikely, from the name being used, as I am informed, by the country people about Tring.

2. VIA DEVANA*.—(1) *Cambridge to Colchester*. This road left the Cambridge station by its southern gate, immediately crossing the river close to the site of the present bridge, where the swampy borders of the river must from the nature of the spot have been narrow.

My friend the late Mr W. G. Ashton informed me that in the year 1823 (when he resided in Bridge Street) an excavation was made for the formation of a great sewer, and that the late Mr Lestourgeon showed to him a Roman causeway in very good preservation, extending from near the Great Bridge to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and occupying about half the width of the street on its eastern side. It was at about fourteen feet below the present surface of the ground, had black peat earth beneath it, and was covered by a few feet of the same kind of soil. It was formed of piles of wood driven into the ground. There were squared beams of wood (probably oak) placed upon the piles, and thus a

¹ It should be recorded here that this name, *Via Devana*, is not ancient, but it is not known at what time it was first used.

continuous road was formed of such a considerable width as to allow of its having been used as a way for horses. From the appearance of the soil, it was supposed to have been originally elevated a foot, or rather more, above the then surface of the bog, and thus to have formed a dry road to the spot where a Roman bridge is believed to have crossed the river, and of which the remains are said, as has been already remarked, to have been found by Mr Essex (Lysons's *Camb.* 44). The wood was in a good state of preservation, but had become black, as is usual with oak when long buried in a wet peat soil. The fact that it was at least fourteen feet below the surface of the present street shows that it must have been of great antiquity; and there being several feet of the peat above it, proves almost conclusively that it had been disused and forgotten before this very ancient part of Cambridge was built. As Grantacæstir is stated by Bede (*Hist. Lib. iv. c. 19*) to have been desolate (*civitatulam quandam desolatam*) in the seventh century, there may have been sufficient time for the channel of the river to become obstructed at the bridge, and the height of the water being thus raised it would permanently cover the low boggy ground over which this causeway extended. Peat would then quickly form, and in a very few years bury the structure and preserve it for discovery in future ages. There does not seem to be any other period in the history of Cambridge at which these changes could have taken place, without the presence of a population which was interested in the preservation of such a work as that described; and with such an interest it is not credible that the timbers should have been allowed to become totally buried, but would doubtless have been removed, and the whole structure raised so as to admit of its being used, or a different kind of causeway formed to replace that which had become useless.

It may be interesting to remark, before we proceed with the description of the *Via Devana*, that somewhat similar Roman

structures of wood have been found in other parts of Britain. In the year 1849, or 1850, a railway was formed along the side of the river Mersey, at Wallasey Pool, near Birkenhead, and in the course of the excavations required in the works for it, a timber bridge was found, covered by 14 feet of silt, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the present highest level of the tides. As there was a solid bottom in this case, and rocky abutments, piles were not required, and the timbers rested upon the rock and upon two piers of masonry (*Journal of the Architect. Archæolog. and Historic Society of Chester*, Pt. i. 55, and plate). Also, in Lancashire, a wooden causeway, called the Danes' Path, formed of pairs of piles supporting longitudinal timbers, has been traced for a mile and a half across the mosses of Rawcliffe, Stalmine, and Pilling, and is known to have extended for about the same distance further to the ancient sea-beach near Scronka (*Proceedings and Papers of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, iii. 121, and plate). What appear to be conclusive reasons are stated for its being considered as a Roman or Romano-British work. A similar work to that found at Cambridge was discovered in Kincardine Moss, in Scotland, and was undoubtedly a Roman work (Wilson's *Prehist. Annals of Scotland*, 34). Unfortunately, in the case of Cambridge, the attention of antiquaries was not directed to the discovery, and the interesting causeway was either destroyed to give place to the sewer, or again permanently buried under the street at such a depth as to be inaccessible. Although I am myself satisfied, from the above account of the causeway (for which I am indebted to Mr Ashton's remembrance of what was shown and explained to him by the late Mr Lestourgeon, who was a gentleman much interested in archæology), it is right to state that the late Mr E. Litchfield, who also remembered these excavations, did not believe that the piles and timbers which he saw were Roman. For the reasons already stated I am unable to find any other period in the history of Cambridge to which to refer

them. It is very unfortunate that the work was not examined by some experienced antiquary.

The road nearly followed the course of the modern streets of Cambridge, as far as the church of St Andrew the Great, which Dr Bennet states to be placed upon it. From thence it kept to the left of the present Hills' Road, along the highest part of the land between the fens of Cherry Hinton and Trumpington. Traces of it were probably found in the form of a ridge of gravel, at the distance of three or four yards from that road, when the ground was trenched to form a plantation at the border of the Botanic Garden property adjoining the Hills' Road. This is, however, uncertain, as the subsoil of all that district is gravel, and the appearances may have been natural. Traces of it are much more certainly to be found a little to the east of the Great Tithe Farm, where its ridge may still be seen crossing the private road to the farm, and in the next and one succeeding hedge as you proceed along its course towards the south. These traces, although now very faint, are interesting as confirmatory of Dr Bennet's statement, that it took this course; a statement made before the enclosure and drainage of the lands, and therefore at a time when its ridge was doubtless to be easily observed. We next see it near Red Cross Farm, where it changed its direction so as to ascend the hill along the course of Worts' Causeway. Its ridge may be observed crossing the private road at a few yards to the north-east of the farm-house, in both the neighbouring hedges, and (looking back upon our course) across the whole width of the adjoining field, and in the hedge beyond it; bearing in such a direction as to appear as if its destination was Grantchester, to which place a road, to be described presently, branched off here. It is probable that the curve in the *Via Devana* and the junction of these two ancient tracks took place at, or very near to, this latter hedge; the line bearing from that point, in one direction straight to

CAMBORITUM, and in the other nearly following the present course of the Worts' Causeway in an easterly direction, until it attained the top of the hill, where it regains its original nearly south-east course. The reason for this remarkable deviation from the usual direct line of the Roman roads is to be found in the formerly impassable character of Hinton Moor, which would have been encountered if it had been continued in a straight line to Cambridge. The only mode of reaching that place, without crossing deep morasses, being the very course which we have found that it followed, namely, along the narrow but slightly elevated ridge that separates Hinton Moor from the marshy track extending from Shelford to the river Cam, and along which the Vicar's Brook flows, which supplies the conduits in Cambridge with water. The road only deviates just sufficiently to avoid the wet country which near Red Cross extended a little to the west of the Worts' Causeway.

It was supposed, says Horsley (*Brit. Rom.* 431), that a road from Chesterton, which must have crossed the river near to the present railway bridge, and kept to the east of Coldham's Common, joined the *Via Devana* at the top of the hill where we have now arrived; but no trace of such a track having, it is believed, ever been observed, it is unnecessary to notice it further.

At this point, where the road returns to its original direction, there are the remains of two tumuli, called the Twopenny Loaves, one of which was opened in 1778, and seven skeletons were found at its bottom; six of them were laid close together and parallel, with their heads pointing due north, the other lay with its head directed due west, and its feet next the side of the nearest of the six (*Nichols's Lit. Anec.* VIII. 631). At Fulbourn, which lies at a short distance to the north-east of this point, various British remains have been found, such as a leaf-shaped sword of bronze, a

spear-head of that metal, and others (*Archæol.* XIX. 56, t. 4). Mr Litchfield had a bronze Roman key found at Fulbourn. Fulbourn has also produced two other leaf-shaped swords; and the late Lord Braybrooke remarked at the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Cambridge that a man named Richard Manning told him of "a square brick grave in which were some glass and pottery vessels which he saw broken by the workmen."

Near Fulbourn some remarkable discoveries were made in 1874. Mr James Carter thus describes them in the *Cambridge Chronicle* (May 10, 1874). He says: "In making a cutting through some rising ground, about half a mile on the Cambridge side of the Fulbourn Railway Station, the workmen came upon three pits or wells sunk in the chalk. They were about three feet from each other and situated upon the summit of the low hill through which the cutting was made. The largest of them, namely that nearest to the Fulbourn Station, was a circular shaft sunk about ten feet in the chalk. It was carefully built up, and the inside smooth, and coated with a layer of hard cement about three inches thick. There was then a layer of coarse concrete about ten inches in thickness, which was reddened by the action of fire. At about six feet from the top the shaft was abruptly reduced in diameter from 9 ft. 3 in. to 6 ft. 3 in., thus forming a set-off 20 in. wide. It was then carried down to a further depth of nearly four feet in the chalk. The inner surface of the lower and narrower portion was blackened, as if by the combustion of wood and other vegetable substances, and contained masses of black carbonaceous matter. The workmen stated that at the bottom they found some slabs leaning obliquely against the sides, so as to construct a sort of flue for draught: but I saw nothing of this.

"The upper and wider portion of the pit was filled partly by the surface soil, and below that there was a layer two to three

feet thick of a very soft calcareous deposit, which the workmen called 'butter.' The 'butter' was so soft that it could readily be rubbed into a paste between the fingers. I analysed this substance and found it to be composed of slaked lime, containing a considerable quantity of water. By exposure to the air it became quite dry and hard. Below and by the sides of this soft layer of lime was a layer of vesicular, spongy, calcareous matter, very light and composed of pure chalk, i.e. carbonate of lime. I imagine that this layer was formed by water filtered through the lime, of which it dissolved a considerable quantity, and subsequently deposited it, as evaporation took place, upon plants lining the shaft. It had not the least appearance of being produced by burning.

"At the junction of the wide and narrow parts of the shaft there was a round-headed opening leading into a second excavation by a passage 2 ft. 6 in. in length. This second pit was simply sunk in the hard chalk and not built up like the other pit. It was of equal diameter throughout; not narrowed in the lower part. I could not detect any traces of the action of fire, except that the sides of the opening between the shafts were burned and reddened. The side of this second shaft opposite to the opening into the first was perforated by another similar opening, which led into a third opening, which appeared not to have been circular, but a cutting with parallel sides, the floor of which inclined upwards, and, as the workmen supposed, had led to the surface.

"It is quite evident that the largest and deepest of these pits was used as a kiln of some kind: it could hardly have been for burning bricks or pottery; nor could I detect the slightest evidence that it had been used for cremation, as was suggested. The presence of a quantity of slaked lime seems to prove that it was used as a limekiln. I suppose that the chalk was put into the upper and wider part of the kiln, and the fuel into the narrower and lower part. The opening would admit of the

removal of the lime and the introduction of fuel; but it is not very evident what can have been the use of the second pit.

"We have no very positive evidence of the age of these pits, but as far as an opinion can be formed from the objects found in the surface soil by which they were partially filled they may perhaps be regarded as Roman. I saw no object which had been found in the lower part of the shafts, but the soil which filled the upper part contained broken pottery of both red and black Roman ware, and also human and other bones, such as ox, horse, and a horned sheep's. A good many human skeletons, perhaps as many as thirty, were discovered in making the cutting of about half a mile in length between the station and the pits. The soil also was full of fragments of pottery and bones of animals, all of very ancient date. The human teeth were ground down as if by the mastication of coarsely ground corn." Of course no remnant of this curious place remains.

To return to the road: at a short distance to the west of the point at which we have arrived there is, upon the top of Gogmagog hill, a large rudely circular camp, called Vandlebury. It is 246 paces in diameter, has three ramparts and two ditches between them (Bowtell, MS. vii. 2641) and encloses about $13\frac{1}{2}$ acres. It was probably a work of the Britons, but is shown, by the discovery of coins, to have been occupied by the Romans. The coins were found in 1685, in digging the foundations of the house now belonging to the Duke of Leeds, which stands within the camp. They were of Valentinian I. and Valens; a knuckle-ring and coins of Trajan and Antoninus Pius were afterwards picked up; in 1730, several large brass coins and a silver ring; and in 1752, a small brass coin of Nero (Gough's *Camden*, ii. 138; *Bibl. Topog. Brit.* iii. 15; Gale, *Anton.* 93). A coin of Cunobeline has also been found there (Bowtell MS. ii. 96). The hills surrounding this place are now called Gogmagog, which is perhaps a corruption of Hogmagog, itself believed by Gale to have come from "*Hoog macht, quod altum robur*

significat et naturae loci satis congruit." Vandlebury may have been the chief fort of the Vandals who were placed in Cambridgeshire by Probus and removed by Belisarius; but is probably much older than their time.

The road is now plainly distinguishable for many miles, with its crest highly raised, and is still used. It crossed the *Icknield Way*, which is represented by the road from Chesterford to Newmarket, at Worsted Lodge, passed about a mile to the south of Balsham, a short distance to the north of Horseheath Lodge, and entered Suffolk near Withersfield. In this part it is fully forty feet wide. Its course from thence to Colchester, by Haverhill and Halsted, it is unnecessary to notice. In Cambridgeshire this part of the road goes by the name of *Woolstreet*, or Worsted. Near Vandlebury and between the Woolstreet and Fleam Dyke there are many tumuli. At Barham Hall, near Linton, about two miles to the south of the road, there are some very unintelligible intrenchments. They are situated in the first and second fields, beyond the inclosures of the Hall, on the way to Bartlow, between that road and the river Bourn, and have been supposed to be the remains of a camp. There are considerable traces of a scarped slope, but no ditch, upon the north-west and south-west sides of a large space; and near to the entrance of the first field there is a deep trench, which does not seem to have any connexion with the supposed camp.

In the parish of West Wickham several Roman coins were found in 1863, chiefly of the lower empire, those of Constantine, Tacitus and Claudius Gothicus were deciphered. Roman coins have also been found at Linton, near which place at Little Linton Roman pottery has occurred, as we learn from Lord Braybrooke. He has also a coin of Theodosius from Castle Camps, and a bronze ladle from Shudy Camps. These, and all the other antiquities mentioned as found by him, are

probably still preserved in the museum which he formed at Audley End.

On the opposite side of the brook called the Bourn and close to it, in the parish of Hadstock but adjoining the town of Linton, there was a Roman villa, which was exhumed by the late Lord Braybrooke in 1850 (for an account of it see *Archæol. Journ.* viii. 27). Gough saw the bronze bust of a satyr found at Linton (Gough's *Camden*, ii. 138). In 1832 a boy found a vase containing many silver Roman coins in a field in the parish of Horseheath, belonging to S. Batson, Esq. Amongst them there were those of Nero, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, the two Antonines, Faustina, and L. Ælius Verus (*Camb. Chron.* Oct. 5th, 1832, and Jan. 25th, 1833). At Bartlow, which is about two miles from the road, are the well-known Bartlow Hills, the examination of which attracted so much attention between forty and fifty years since (*Archæol.* xxv. 1, t. 1—3, and xxvi. 300, t. 31—35). A third brass coin of Valens was found there (*Archæol.* xxvi. 463). The hills are formed of a succession of very thin layers of mould and chalk regularly alternating and horizontal. Mr I. Deck gave an account of the opening of one of them, in the *Cambridge Chronicle* (May 5, 1838), and of another afterwards (*Ibid.* May 2, 1840). But these places are not in Cambridgeshire.

▷ (2) *Cambridge to Chester.* Returning to Cambridge and proceeding in the opposite direction, the *Via Devana* passed out at the north-western gate of the station, just to the west of the present junction of the Huntingdon and Histon roads, and kept to the left of the line of the existing road, but "passed through the fields of the ancient hamlet called How's House, where a barrow containing several Roman coins was removed in making the present road" (Lysons's *Camb.* 44); by Lolworth hedges and Fenstanton to Godmanchester on its way to Leicester and Chester. In a field between Gravel Hill Farm and the Huntingdon road some large and small

Roman funereal vases, broken pieces of Samian ware, and a few bits of Roman pottery (of the smoky kind) were found in 1861, together with burned bones. These were apparently by the side of the "Via Devana." By the course of the same road two large stone coffins were found in 1862. They had their ends towards the road, and were sunk a little below the surface soil. The very perfect skeleton of a female was found in one of them quite undisturbed, and the stone coffin was unbroken. At the feet of this skeleton there were several glass bottle-shaped



vessels (see cuts on this and the following page) and a small vase of the Roman period; also an amulet of jet and the remains of two jet pins. The other coffin was larger and had been mended with two iron clamps (showing the value of the stone coffins at that time and place): it contained nothing except the remains of the skeleton much disturbed, by water having obtained access to the coffin (*Camb. Antiq. Comm.* ii. 289).

Two Roman-British urns of the ordinary coarse black pottery, and one of fine yellow ware with a narrow neck were found near the Observatory in May, 1878.

In 1881, during some alterations of the ground near Girton College, an extensive Anglo-Saxon cemetery was discovered. It seems to have been the quiet burial place of a peaceable time, which was probably of rather long continuance. Proof was found of interment by cremation and by inhumation.



Many vases and ornaments such as fibulae and beads were found.

It is not my intention to give any account of the Anglo-Saxon remains found here, but only of those of the Roman period. The former will, it is expected, be described in detail by Mr

Jenkinson in the *Comm. of the Camb. Antiq. Society*, and do not fall within the scope of this treatise. "The Roman remains consisted principally of the contents of two square wooden boxes, the form of which was clearly traced by the nails and the pieces of wood adhering to them. Each contained a glass cinerary vessel: of these one was square, the other hexagonal. Each contained an iron lamp with hooked rod for suspension,



and other vessels of glass and of Samian and other ware. The marks on the Samian were all of known potters (PAVLLI·M., PAVLI·F. (sic), BORILLI·M., PATERATI·OF.); a glass bottle bore on its flat bottom the circular legend, C·LVCRETI·FESTIVI, and an undecipherable mark in the centre." A glass patera showed impressed on the under side the figure of a pelican. (Shown



on the annexed cut below; as also are the glass vessels found here; all represented of $\frac{1}{6}$ th of the real size.) "There was also what appears to have been a large circular wooden object covered with thin bronze, along one side of which were rings and large hollow bosses of the same metal" (*Jenkinson's MS.*). It is a curious fact that the successors of the Romans appear to have met with some of their fictile ware, and used it again to preserve the ashes of their own dead, for decidedly Roman vases were found with the Anglo-Saxon interments.

Further researches led to the discovery of two ancient rubbish pits which contained Anglo-Saxon remains at the top,



below them fragments of Roman pottery, lower down a fine lion's head represented of $\frac{1}{6}$ th the true size on the next page. It is formed of Ketton stone, and, although it has lost its nose and is otherwise rather injured, shows good workmanship.

The torso of a military figure which had been about four feet high was found there. "The broad collar, the belt, the

close fitting coat, apparently of metal, and a short kilt-like garment peeping from under it are clearly visible. One of its arms had been raised" (*Camb. Chron.* May 13, 1882).

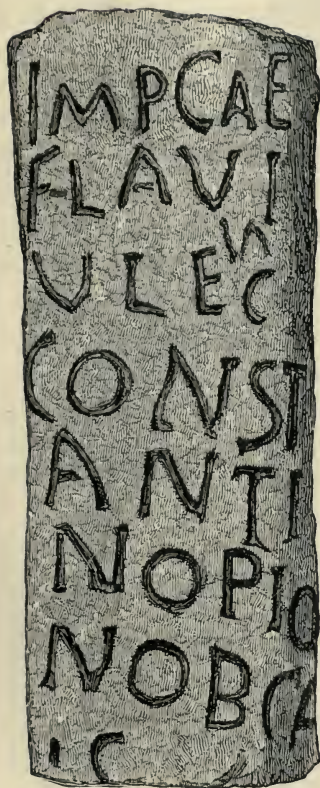
But where did these ancient people dwell? I can form no conjecture concerning the Anglo-Saxon village except that it was not very near to the spot selected for their graves. The Anglo-Saxon people seem to have usually avoided the contiguity of the ancient roads.



Probably the Romans resided at or near to the spot which has from time immemorial been known as How-House, where a small Roman outpost from *Camboritum* was probably placed. See *Camb. Univ. Reporter*, No. 348 (1881), 596.

At about three miles from Cambridge two stones were found in 1812, which are now preserved under the portico of the Fitzwilliam Museum: they are flattened with the angles rounded. Their measurements are :

No. 1.

W₂ S

	ft.	in.
Height	3	6
Girth	3	4½
Width	1	0
Thickness	0	6

No. 2.

W₂ S

	ft.	in.
Height	2	8
Girth	3	3
Width	1	3
Thickness	0	6

From their great difference in shape it is hardly possible that they can have had any connection with each other, but are probably fragments of two monumental stones which stood contiguously by the side of the *Via Devana*. They were

(*Gentlem. Mag.* lxxxiii. Pt. 1, 524), found by Mr Henry Lloyd Biden, at that time a student of Trinity Hall, projecting from a bank near the present high road, at a distance of nearly three miles from Cambridge, in October, 1812. The inscriptions are rather difficult to understand. The surface of the stones is very rough but the letters are deeply cut and easy to see in certain lights. On No. 1, the lines all commence near the angle of the stone, upon one of its broader sides, and the first letters of each line range vertically. The first and third lines extend beyond the front face of the block, and are continued round the angle on the lateral face. The Inscription appears to be perfect, and was erected in honour of Constantinus Pius by the Fifth Legion (?) in the reign of his father Constantine the Great. This tends to prove that at least some part of the Fifth Legion was stationed at Camboritum at that period. No. 2 is imperfect owing to the upper part of the stone being lost.

The following are accurate copies of the Inscriptions:

No. 1.	No. 2.
IMPCAE	LISSI
FLAVI	MVS
VLEG	CAESAR
CONST	
ANTI	
NOPIO	
NOBCA	
. S	

There has been considerable discussion concerning No. 1, for it is not known that the Leg. V., or any part of it ever was in Britain. But I am not aware that any other explanation of the inscription has been given; but the third line may be read ULEC.

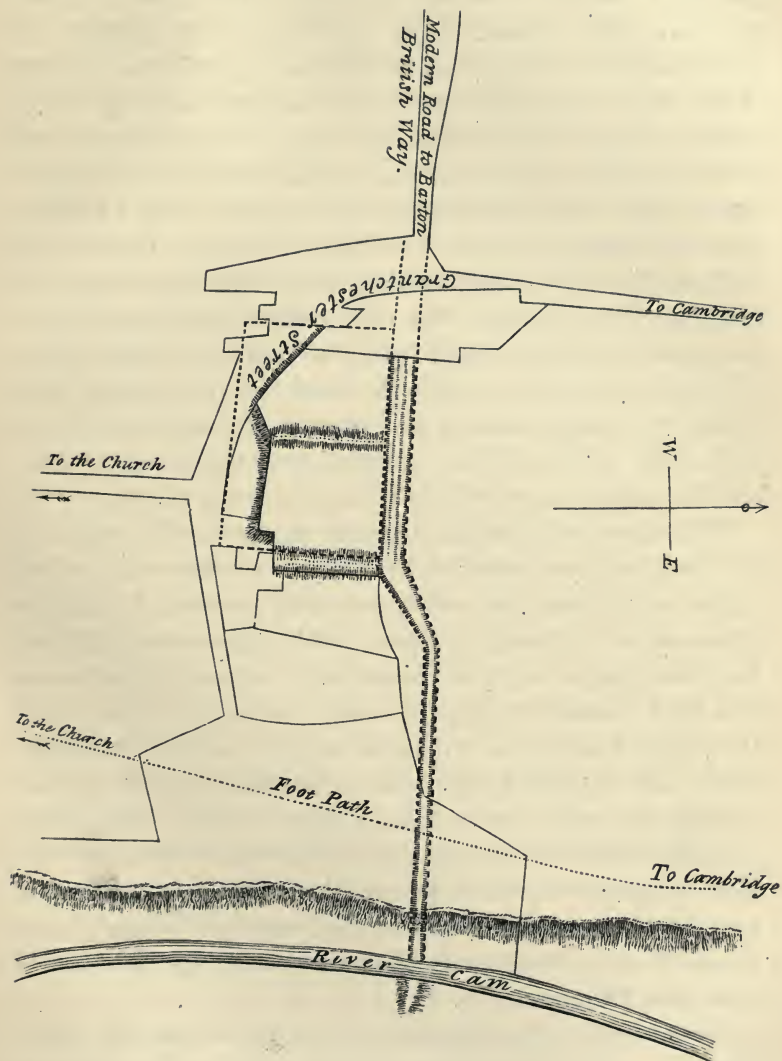
At Boxworth, about eight miles from Cambridge, a gold coin of Vespasian was found in 1848 (*Camb. Chron.* Nov. 4,

1848). At Madingley at no great distance to the south of this road a third brass coin of Valentinian was found in 1855.

(3) *Grantchester and Barton Road*.—It has been already stated that a road branched off from the *Via Devana* at Red Cross, and went to Grantchester. Of this we should have known nothing without the help of Bishop Bennet, who has given us the following account of it (Lysons's *Camb.* 45). He says that the *Via Devana* had the appearance of throwing off a branch to Grantchester, which "seems to descend immediately into Shelford Fen, where it disappears for a short time; but as the ground rises on the west side of the fen, the road appears in its old line rising with it; it then crosses the great London road, just to the north of the village of Trumpington," where it may still (1882) be just traced in the field to the left of the road to Trumpington as a raised bank. It then "goes straight down a green balk in the corn-field opposite, which soon becomes an old lane leading into Trumpington Fen, nearly opposite Grantchester Church: in the fen it is again lost, as these ancient roads often are, in low marshy ground; but on crossing the river and coming again on the line of the road, it is found keeping its course as before in an old lane which passes through the village of Grantchester, becomes a more frequented way, leading to Barton, where it falls into the Roman way from Cambridge," as is stated above. The bishop adds: "It must not be concealed, however, that some antiquarians of the present day are not convinced of the existence of this vicinal way [as a Roman road]; and though they confess it to have all the marks of a trackway used in ancient times, are inclined to account for these appearances by the supposition that when the Roman bridge and causeway [at Cambridge] were destroyed by the barbarians, travellers naturally looked on each side of the ruined station for the nearest fords, and crossed the Cam at Grantchester and Chesterton, as they did the Ouse at Offord and Hemingford." But as signs of a raised road are to be seen

at Trumpington, I think that that idea is unfounded. Unfortunately an interval of seventy or eighty years has rendered it impossible to trace much of this road. Between Red Cross and the river at Grantchester all is either nearly destroyed by cultivation or swallowed up in the former fens, now drained and cultivated; during that part of its course, therefore, we must be satisfied with the fact, that in Dr Bennet's days there was manifestly an ancient road passing in that direction. On the Grantchester side of the river it fortunately happens that two fields have not been subjected to the plough, and there the road may still be traced, not however, as stated by Dr Bennet "in an old lane," but proceeding from a ford as a hollowed way in a direct line across the fields to the junction, in the village, of the present roads from Cambridge and Barton, along the latter of which it went nearly but not quite to the end of the village; and then, continuing the same straight course, it proceeded along a bridle-track direct to Barton. As the whole of the latter part of this course is still used as a road, none of the ancient work is to be seen (indeed in similar soils to that of this part of the county, the ancient tracks are usually found to have lost their original form, and not to differ in appearance from common field roads); but it is exactly the line described in the above extract. The idea that the course described is the true one, is rendered more probable by the discovery of a square fort adjoining the side of it at Grantchester.

This Roman fort (see opposite) is situated at a short distance from the river, and considerably raised above it so as to command the ford. It is at the southern end of the large field in which the foot-path from Cambridge forks, and the sunken road from it to the river is crossed by the continuation of the path that leads to the church soon after it enters the next field. The fort can never have had much strength, but was doubtless sufficient to protect the detachment which probably was stationed here to defend the only ford which at that time seems



likely to have existed for many miles above Cambridge, until assistance could be obtained from that large town not more than three miles distant. Only a small part of the inclosure is observable; the whole of two of the sides and a portion of each of the others being obliterated by the roads and buildings of the modern village. The north-eastern angle is very distinct, and what is probably the greater part of the north side is well preserved. That side was defended by two ditches, with a low flat ridge resembling a raised road between them. There is no bank on the outer side, but the outer ditch is now about 3 feet deep; the central ridge then rises a little more than 1 foot, and is 11 feet broad; then succeeds the other ditch, on the inner side of which the bank is 4 feet high, thus raising the rampart about a foot above the general level of the field. The whole width of this system of ditches is 40 feet, and the existing length of this side of the fort is 324 feet.

The eastern side remains tolerably perfect to the extent of 189 feet, and was defended by a ditch of about 4 feet in depth, but of which the width cannot be ascertained, owing to the presence of a hedge and bank. At a distance of 187 feet from this eastern side, and parallel to it, there are faint traces of a road or street crossing the station, and slightly sunk below the general level. It communicates with the northern boundary ditch, and is probably the road so commonly found to pass through the centre of a Roman camp; of the other which generally crosses it at right angles there is no trace. If this idea is correct, we may conjecture that the fort was 127 yards long. Of its breadth we have no such means of judging, but it appears to be probable, from the nature of the ground, that it was about 75 yards.

It may be justly asked, how do you know that this was a Roman fort? To which it can only be answered, that there is nothing more than great probability in favour of that opinion; and that it greatly resembles other forts constructed by that

people. I am glad to be able to strengthen my own opinion on the matter by adding that of my friend the late Mr A. Taylor, an antiquary whose attention was especially directed to the roads and stations of the Romans in Britain, and whom I had the pleasure of conducting to Grantchester in search of a Roman station and road. He remarked upon seeing these banks that it was undoubtedly a Roman work.

To return to the road. In the extract from Dr Bennet's sketch given above, the road to this fort from Red Cross has been traced to the banks of the river, and it is also stated that it did not follow the course from that point laid down by him until it reached the middle of the village at the junction of the Cambridge and Barton roads. As the north-western angle of the fort was situated almost exactly at the junction of the above-mentioned modern roads, and the track from thence to Barton has been already described, we may now turn back from that point and connect it with the bishop's line at the river. It is certainly curious to find that this well-preserved part of the road is not elevated, as is usual with Roman roads, but appears as a slight trench, continuing nearly but not quite in a straight line the trenches which form the northern side of the fort. It may be very clearly traced through the interval between the fort and the river, to which it attains by a gradual slope formed by a rather deep cutting in the somewhat abrupt bank overhanging the stream. On the opposite side of the river, in Trumpington Fen, there is a gap in the bank forming a gradual descent to the water, which is now used by cattle as a watering-place, and is the only break in that bank for a very considerable distance. Shall I be considered as too bold if I state my strong suspicion that it is a trace of the ancient ford? The modern embankment further back from the stream has effectually obliterated the road almost as soon as it attained the level of the adjoining land. I cannot pretend to account for the fact of this road appearing

as a trench, but it may be remarked, that British roads are often, perhaps always, sunk below the general level of the country, and have usually a slight bank on each side; and that this road may have been found in existence by the Romans and, as being a track of very little consequence after the foundation of CAMBORITUM, have been left by them in its original state, but the small fort thrown up as a shelter for the detachment placed there to command this important ford. Roman coins have occasionally been found at Grantchester¹, but I have seen only two of them belonging to the Emperors Valentinianus and Constantinus Junior.

At Dam Hill (or Gravel Hill as otherwise named), a place where gravel was formerly obtained in the parish of Trumpington, but situated at about a quarter of a mile back from the bridge over Vicar's Brook, on the road from Cambridge, many Roman urns have been found in what appears to have been an extensive cemetery. It is recorded in Dr Warren's MSS. now in the possession of Trinity Hall, that about the year 1711 several pateræ, urns, &c. were found in digging gravel at that place. The potter's marks on the pateræ were, OF · LICINI, OF · MRRAL, MASCLERVS, and DAMONI. (Bowt. MS. ii. 179); also a large urn with bones in 1733. A coin of Trajan has been found there (*Ibid.* 189). Dr Mason records (Gough's *Camden*, ii. 131) the discovery of many curious pateræ of fine red earth: one large vase three feet long, brass lagenæ, a brass dish embossed, the handle of a sacrificial knife, the brasses of a pugillaris or table-book, some large bones and Roman coins. They are preserved in the Library of Trinity College. Dr Stukeley possessed in 1751 a Roman cup and saucer entire of fine red earth, which were dug up at Trumpington (Weld's *Hist. of Royal Society*, i. 527). Three urns of rude workmanship found in that parish,

¹ Grantchester bore the name Grenteset at an early period. See *Inquis. Com. Cantabrig.* 70.

and which were formerly in the possession of the Rev. J. Hailstone, late vicar, are in the Cambridge Antiquarian Museum.

Not far from the ancient line of road from Grantchester to Red Cross a funereal vase was found in 1879, and exhibited at the meeting of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society on May 13 and March 1, 1880. Some other Roman apparently sepulchral remains found at about the same spot were also exhibited (*Univ. Reporter*, 1880, p. 356), amongst them a cinerary urn of about 12 in. in height.

The late Mr Alex. Watford, who was employed, as he stated to the Rev. J. J. Smith, to survey at least four-fifths of the parishes near Cambridge, considered that there was a road which would continue this track from Barton by Toft to join the *Erming Street* at Bourn. This would pass by Comberton church, and therefore just above the Roman villa already mentioned, and by Toft church, near which remains were found at a place called Priory Field, not far from the brook, in December 1851, by some labourers digging gravel. At about three feet below the surface they found seven skeletons. Six of the bodies had been placed side by side with their feet towards the west, and the seventh lay across their legs. Fragments of "Roman pottery, a portion of a lamp and pateræ" were found close by the skeletons (*Camb. Chron.* Dec. 27, 1851). An instance of a nearly similar arrangement of seven bodies has been already mentioned (p. 30). Then this supposed road would pass by a place called Kingston Stones to Bourn, where two urns called Roman, and half a quern formed of pudding-stone, were found in 1813 (*Archæol.* xviii. 435). It is there stated that no trace of a Roman road or station was known to be near to them. If there was a road following this course, as is not improbable, it was most likely of British origin.

Mr Essex remarked that the road from Red Cross Farm was continued "to the north of Grantchester, near which it makes part of a ridgeway leading towards Hardwick, and is

called Deadman's Way. John Leat, a labourer, being employed 17 years ago [that is before 1773, or in 1756] in digging a trench in a field laying on the south side of this way, having dug about three feet below the surface, found a paved way, about 1 ft. 6 in. thick, composed of pebbles laid in gravel, on the side of which was some brickwork; the bricks, according to his description, were about the thickness of a common brick, but much longer and wider" (*Essex's MS. note book. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 6768, p. 243*). My own observation leads me to believe that there was such a track, and it is difficult to see by whom it could have been made since the time of the Romans.

3. OTHER SUPPOSED ROADS FROM CAMBRIDGE. Having concluded the account of the two great lines of communication passing through Cambridge, I might proceed to describe the others which are intended to be described in this treatise; but it is desirable first to mention two lines which have been supposed to have started from that town. (A) Lord Braybrooke thought that the roads leading from the important station at Chesterford to Cambridge, although not very evident, may be made out, but not with absolute certainty. The principal one probably followed the modern way to Ickleton and Duxford (where there is a very Roman-looking branch westward to Triplow), and proceeded behind Whittlesford towards Cambridge. Another, starting from the north side (joined at Stump-cross by a short track from Ickleton, a continuation apparently of the Ashwell Street), ran by Bournbridge to the Fleam Dyke. The remainder of the remarks upon the roads near Chesterford refer to those in Essex (see *Archæol. Journal* xi. 209).

(B) But those about which there is greater probability are (1) *Cambridge to Chesterford*. Dr Bennet states his belief that there was a road from Cambridge to Chesterford, proceeding nearly on the line of the present road by Great

Shelford and Sawston; but no trace of it has been observed. At Shelford, and therefore close by the side of this supposed road, there is a fine rectangular camp at a spot now called Granham's Farm. It is 400 yards long from east to west, and rather more than 160 from north to south. The bank is very lofty and perfect throughout its eastern half, but has been levelled in the other part, owing to the house and farm premises being within the camp. The ditch, of great breadth, may be traced throughout a much greater portion of its extent, and is wet, part being now choked with bog and part full of water. Unfortunately the tenant has removed much of these fine works recently.

On the top of Huckeridge Hill, near Sawston, some men removing gravel in Aug. 1816, found a skeleton at 3 feet below the surface. At the feet of the skeleton there were placed two vessels of bronze, the larger 15 inches across, and having a flat rim ornamented with a row of bosses all round. They found also some black coarse earthenware; an iron sword 2 ft. 7½ in. long; the iron umbo of a shield; and a bronze fibula formed like a double-headed snake. The remains were purchased by Dr E. D. Clarke for the University (*Archæol.* xviii. 340, t. 24 and 25). It is probable that they are Saxon or Danish remains, but I can learn nothing concerning them.

(2) *Cambridge to Braughing.* Dr Stukeley mentions a road leading from Cambridge to Braughing, where it fell into the *Erming Street*. He says that he "could discern many traces of it in the present road, as particularly beyond Barley," and he observed "several milestones, particularly a little on this side Hare Street." Dr Bennet takes no notice of this line, although he quotes Stukeley's *Medallic History of Carausius*, from which (ii. 144) the above extract is taken. I think that the real road commenced at Chesterford passing by Strethall, Littlebury Green, also called Stretley, Leebury, Pond Street, and then through a country with which I am totally un-

acquainted, led to Hare Street and Braughing. Still it must be remembered that extensive traces of ancient occupation were found in 1871, in a field between Hauxton Mill and the road to Hauxton. Only a few decidedly Roman tiles with flanges were found, and two slabs of freestone which seem to have formed part of a floor. It is quite impossible to say what Stukeley's "milestones" may have been. No traces of them now exist.

III. OTHER ANCIENT ROADS IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Before commencing the description of the *Erming* and *Icknield Ways* I would refer to the admirable paper by the lamented Dr Guest, *On the Four Roman Ways* (*Archæol. Journ.* xiv. 99), where the whole subject is exhaustively discussed, and our roads shown to be the true Erming and Icknield Ways or Streets.

4. THE ERMING STREET. Dr Guest justly remarks that the southern part of this road was probably of British formation; for neither are there many Roman remains on its course, nor is it noticed in the "Iters" of Antoninus. It is therefore exceedingly improbable that a paved road existed leading directly from London to Lincoln. Other routes are pointed out by Antoninus. But we have only to consider its course through Cambridgeshire, where it is now exactly followed by a turnpike road. Starting from London and passing Cheshunt and Ware it reached Braughing; then proceeded by Buntingford and Royston, following the line of the present road, to Godmanchester (*DUROLIPONS*). At Braughing it threw off, as I suppose, the road already mentioned to Chesterford. At Royston it crossed the *Icknield Way*, and at two miles further north the *Ashwell Street*. At Arrington Bridge, named from the village called

Ermingtune in the Domesday Survey, the *Akeman Street* was crossed by it. At about three miles from Godmanchester it passes a spot called Latenbury. It went through the middle of the station DUROLIPONS, as the *Via Devana* appears to have passed on the outside of it on the north-east, and the Roman road from Sandy similarly on the west¹: the three combining to cross the river Ouse together. From Godmanchester its course was by Alconbury Hill, Sawtry, and Stilton (a little to the west of which place there is a Caldecot at about midway between the *Erming Street* and the *Bullock Road*) to Chesterton on the Nen, and Castor, the site of the DUROBRIVÆ of Antoninus, to Lincoln. Between Alconbury Hill and Sawtry this is now called *Stangate*. Gale supposed that it crossed the Ouse at Offord (or Oldford) a little above Huntingdon, near a spot called Port Mead; but that does not seem to have been the case with the Roman road, although the original British *Erming Way* may have passed there, having come from Sandy by Eynesbury; I am, however, more inclined to think that it passed the river at or very near to Eynesbury; but of this mention will be made under the head of *Bullock Road*. Horsley, who will not allow that there was any station at Huntingdon or Godmanchester, adopts Gale's idea, and says of this line coming from the north, that "where it is last visible on the south side of the river [Nen], it falls obliquely on to the present post-road, and so has probably crossed it near Chesterton" (Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* 431). He is apparently in error when, speaking of the oblique direction of its junction with the post-road, he states that that shows it to have crossed that road. We may trust to the Ordnance Map, as I find from personal examination. The road is quite straight for about ten

¹ DUROLIPONS appears to have been hexagonal and placed in the angle formed by those two roads, but traversed by the greater and probably more ancient way now called the *Erming Street*. The outline of the station may probably be traced in the lanes surrounding the modern town.

miles, or for five on each side of DUROBRIVÆ, the station close to Chesterton; and it is the turnpike-road that joins it at an acute angle, and changes its original direction for that of the Roman line. I saw the foundation of the Roman road at about half-a-mile to the north of the Nene formed of large slabs of stone set on mortar made with pounded tile. It is probable that the British (or other early) way coming from Lincoln, and now called *King Street*, after passing through Castor, crossed the river with the *Erming Street*, and accompanied it through DUROBRIVÆ, but then, turning to the right parted from it and passing along the "convenient ridge of high ground" mentioned by Horsley, became what is now called the *Bullock Road*, of which a description is given in a future page.

Gibson (*Anton.* 142) considers that DUROBRIVÆ was a name applied to the camps placed on both sides of the river Nen at Castor, Alwalton, Chesterton, and Water Newton, at all of which places he states that remains of them have been found. He states that the name means "camps by the river," or the "water-cities." In the *Itinerary* of Richard of Cirencester (a work deserving of little confidence owing to its more than doubtful authenticity) we find DURNOMAGUS in the place that is occupied by DUROBRIVÆ in Antoninus; and it is supposed that the former was that part of the town which was situated on the northern side of the river at and about Castor, and the latter the part lying to the south of the river between Chesterton and Water Newton. But his guesses are of exceedingly little value. Gibson's work above quoted contains an account of DUROBRIVÆ as it was then (1769) known, and Mr Artis has more recently made very extensive excavations at Castor, and published a series of plates illustrative of his discoveries. A list of Roman coins found at Castor is given in the *Journal of the Archæological Association* (ii. 265). A short statement of some of Mr Artis's discoveries will also be found in that *Journal* (i. 1); and in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (xci. Pt. 1. 483),

where it is stated, that the antiquities were distributed over a spot of a triangular shape, of which two of the sides are 2 miles, and the other side $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile in length, the churchyard of Castor being at the apex. Supposing the triangle to stand north and south, as is most probable, this space would include nearly, if not quite, all the places mentioned by Gibson.

5. THE ICKNIELD WAY. Dr Guest points out that this was called "Ichenilde" or "Icenhilde Weg" in Anglo-Saxon charters. Higden, mistaking the Rykenield Way for it, caused the transfer of the name from our county to Staffordshire; for his book was so popular that he has been followed in this mistake, as well as in other respects. Accordingly Icknield is now applied to many spots near to the Rykenield Way. The similarity of the names misled him.

In our district the true *Icknield Way* may easily be traced from near Thetford to Icklingham, where there are Roman remains, and where Horsley placed the ancient CAMBORITUM, then crossing the river Lart at Lackford, and falling into the line of the present road at Kentford. It forms from thence the boundary of the counties of Suffolk and Cambridge as far as a point upon Newmarket Heath, about a mile to the north-east of the *Devil's Ditch*. That it passed close by Newmarket is shown by a deed printed by the Archæological Institute (*Norwich Volume*, 22) relating to the transfer of "totum solarium meum lapideum quod se extendit super Ykenildeweie" by "Robertus filius Radulfi Brother de Novo Mercato." The terms of the deed refer specially to the gate of the grantor's house. The place was therefore at Newmarket. The date of the deed is apparently in the reign of Hen. III. At a little distance to the east of Newmarket it passes a tumulus called Bury Hill. We are told by Dr Bennet—for I believe that its exact course is at present unknown—that "keeping to the hilly ground to the east of the present road it bears directly for Ickleton, without bending out its course or inclining towards

the considerable Roman station at Chesterford, not far from which it passes. It is remarked by Stukeley and Mason that, in its crossing one of the ancient ditches," the *Brent* or *Pampisford Ditch* (Gough's *Camden*, 141), "so common in this part of the country, the fosse has been evidently filled up to admit the road." It appears almost certain from this remark, that those antiquaries, or Mason alone (for he is the person mentioned by Gough), traced some part of its course in our county. We are informed above that it kept to the east of the present road from Newmarket to Chesterford, and I had hoped that the boundaries of parishes might restore its probable line. These boundaries do not however much assist us. They are very irregular in the neighbourhood of the present road throughout the northern half of the debated district, except that they coincide with it between Bangalore Barn and the Green Man; from the *Balsham Dyke* to the point where it becomes the boundary of the county they exactly follow its course. In all probability, then, this latter part of the modern road is on the line of the ancient one. When within less than a mile of Great Chesterford it makes a turn nearly at right angles with its former course to pass Ickleton, the county boundary accompanying it round the curve. There is reason to believe that Ickleton was the site of a British town. Camden calls it "an ancient little city." It then probably went by Ickleton Grange to a point near Chrishall Grange, not far from a tumulus opened by the late Lord Braybrooke. From thence it may be traced as a nearly disused track to Known's Folly, near to which spot it becomes the boundary of the counties of Cambridge and Hertford. In this part it passes across the Heydon or Brand Ditch to be noticed further on. It may be followed by Royston and Baldock, and so to Dunstable. Dr Bennet found it to be "very manifest on the hill-side south-west of Ickleton and on the Downs near Royston." There is no trace of it now in the former place, which is ploughed up, but it is used as a road

near the latter, where it crosses Burloes Hill, on which are or were many tumuli of the stone age. Near to this road in the year 1847 Lord Braybrooke found, at a place called Five Barrow Field (which is about one mile and a half from Royston, two from Melbourn, and three from Barkway), cinerary vessels of unbaked clay and a coin of the first brass of Marcus Aurelius; also a covered way extending from S.E. to N.W. At two miles distance, he informs us, that there is another similar way extending as far as the eye can reach to the westward (*Archæologia*, xxxii. 357. *Sepult. Explor.* 25).

To the west of Royston there was a Roman camp of which a plan was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1744, by Mr Nichols, but he does not appear to have deposited it with the Society, as no trace of it is now to be found (*Camden*, ii. 65). In the same direction "several British hut-circles have been opened, containing ashes and fragments of bronze" (*Arch. Journ.* xxv. 27). Traces of very ancient cultivation may be seen on the turf, and many Roman coins have been found.

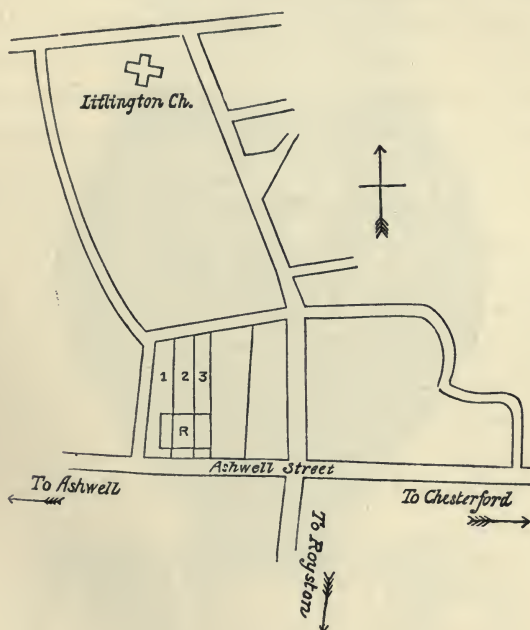
6. ASHWELL STREET.—This name is now employed to designate a straight piece of road extending from near Ashwell to the *Erming Street* near Kneesworth. It was supposed to be the *Ickniold Way* by the late Rev. Dr Webb, Master of Clare College, and Rector of Litlington, and is called Roman by him. In the former idea I believe that he will be generally considered to have then been in error, in the latter he is most probably correct. This road seems to have commenced at Shefford, passed by Etonbury, Stotfold, and Newnham (a little to the south of Caldecot), by Harborough Banks, which is "a camp of 12 acres, where coins, &c. have been found" (*Sharp's Gaz.* i. 78). Within a mile to the east of Ashwell it enters Cambridgeshire, and passing at about a mile to the south of Litlington church, and crossing the *Erming Street*, was continued to Melbourn Bury. From that place it seems to have passed between the southern point of the deep morass called

Melbourn Common, and the northern end of the *Bran* (or as I call it for distinction sake, the *Heydon*) *Ditch*, to Foulmire and Triplow, a little to the south of Whittlesford, where it crossed the southern branch of the river Cam, through Pampisford, and by the northern end of the *Brent Ditch* to join the *Ickniel* *Way* and *Peddar Way* at Bourn Bridge.

Between Caldecot and Henxwell were found, in 1720, many urns, with bones and ashes, several skeletons lying to the south-east, some pateræ with names, lachrymatories, fibulæ, beads, &c.; also in 1724, three pateræ, two patellæ of red earth, an ampulla, a small urn of different colours, a glass lachrymatory, the handle and neck of a glass simpulum, stone [?] handle of a sword, brass fibulæ, &c., were found in Henxwell parish. (Minutes of Soc. of Antiq. quoted in Gough's *Camden*, i. 342).

LITLINGTON.—An account of the Roman burial-place by the *Ashwell Street*, "the line of communication between the Roman station at Ashwell and that at Chesterford," is given in the *Cambridge Chronicle* (April 26, and May 17, 1821). The plan on the opposite page will show the position of this cemetery in the inclosure R. It is derived from a rough sketch made by the late Dr Webb. It is stated that eighty urns containing human bones, between twenty and thirty simpula, twenty pateræ of the red Samian ware, twenty lachrymatories, and about thirty earthen vessels were found. Also two urns, of green glass, one square with each side measuring 8 inches, and the height 13 inches, the other smaller, with handles both massive and beautiful, very similar to those described in the *Archæologia* (Vol. x. and xiv.), as discovered at Lincoln and Haverhill. Also two glass vessels with long necks and straight handles. The pateræ of Samian ware have the potter's marks PATER. F., GRACISSA F., ELVILLI, DIVICATVS., &c.; they are 6 or 7 inches in diameter; some have a leaf on the edge but no potter's work. They frequently served as covers to the urns. An urn, a simpulum, and a patera were in

general found together; the simpulum contiguous to the urn; the patera, if not used as a cover, placed perpendicularly touching the urn. Many tiles were found of about three-fourths of an inch in thickness, 17 inches in length, and 12 in breadth, and somewhat concave, and turned down at the edges about an inch. Coins were found of Constantine (silver), having on the reverse three stars over a globe placed upon an altar, with



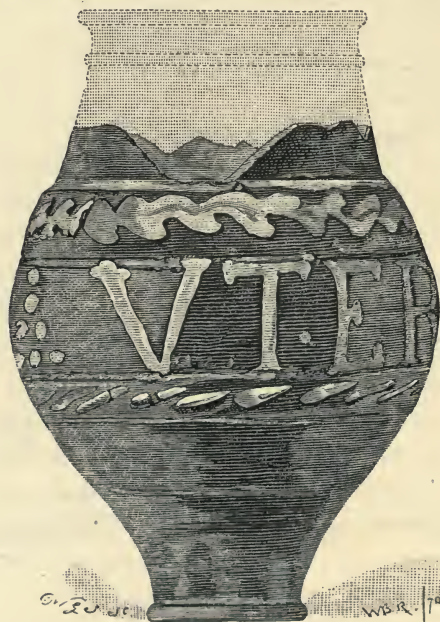
VOTIS over it and XX beneath, surrounded by the motto BEATA TRANQUILITAS; one of Antoninus Pius, and of Alexander Severus¹.

To these Dr Webb adds (*Archæol.* xxvi.) coins of Hadrian, Quintilius, Carausius, and Magnentius; also a Roman style

¹ Some of the sepulchral vessels are figured in Smith's *Collect. Antiqua*, i. t. 12.



of brass, and a number of fibulæ of brass. Several Saxon coins, being silver pennies of Burgred of Mercia and of Ethelred the Elder, have been found (*Camb. Chron.* May 17, 1821). Many of these antiquities are now preserved in the Museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society to which they were given by the late Rev. Dr Webb.



VTER FELIX

At a meeting of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (May 6, 1841), the late Rev. W. Clack exhibited coloured drawings of a tessellated pavement found in a Roman villa at Litlington (*Camb. Chron.* May 8, 1841), and at another meeting (Dec. 6, 1841) he gave an account of his whole proceedings in the

exploration of the villa, which consisted of more than thirty rooms and a bath (*Camb. Chron.* Dec. 11, 1841). It was situated between the *Ashwell Street* and Litlington church, and the examination of it was chiefly made in the year 1829 (*Camb. Chron.* May 29, 1829). Unfortunately Mr Clack's collections were sold in Devonshire, and cannot now be traced, except a very few of the Roman vessels which are in the possession of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. His manuscript and plans also never came into the hands of the Society and cannot now be found.

A terra-cotta vase nearly five inches high, and ten inches in circumference, was found at Guilden Morden in 1879, and is now in the possession of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, of Corpus Christi College. Its ornamentation consists of wreaths of olive and laurel inclosing the inscription *VTERE FELIX* painted around in white characters seven-eighths of an inch high. It is represented two-thirds of the true size on the opposite page. It may be noted that the same legend is found on a pewter lanx discovered at Welney in Norfolk, in 1864, and described in the *Archæol. Journ.* (xxvii. 98), and figured in *Fen Land* (p. 474). From the form of the letters on the vase and the discovery of coins of the early Cæsars near Guilden Morden we learn that the



COIN FOUND AT LITLINGTON.

Obv. NERO·CLAVD(ius)·CAESAR·AVG(ustus) GER(manicus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestate) IMP(erator).

Rev. s(enatus) c(onsulto). Victory rising in the air, and holding a shield on which is inscribed SPQR.

Romans occupied that district at an early period. The discovery of a second brass coin of Nero (see p. 61) in a garden at Litlington enables us to approximate to a superior limit of date for the Roman occupation of this neighbourhood.

The discovery at Litlington, in January, 1881, of a Roman mosaic pavement and hypocaust, in a garden next to the site of Dr Webb's excavations, has been announced; but it was of the ordinary kind, made of plain white cubes of stone, and has since been destroyed.

At Limlow or Limbury Hill (marked as "Tumulus" only on the Ordnance Map), which is about half-a-mile to the south of the above burial-place, skeletons, with coins of Claudius, Vespasian, and Faustina were found in 1833, as we learn from the communications made by the Rev. Dr Webb, to the Society of Antiquaries, and published in the *Archæologia* (xxvi. 368, t. 44 and 45, also p. 374).

The Society of Antiquaries has a large olla of Anglo-Roman ware, much broken, found in 1843 at Melbourn, and presented to the Society by Mr Alex. Watford of Cambridge. It is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the mouth (Way's *Cat. of Antiq. &c.* 17).

Mr Beldam mentions (*Archæol. Journ.* xxv. 30) an important Roman camp at Melbourn which I have not seen. He says: "it formed a quadrangle of about 200 yards, surrounded by a vallum with a second vallum towards the east. It occupied a flat of dry ground defended towards the north-east and east by the morass. Under its western side passed the ancient road to Cambridge, still known in this part by the name of the *Portway*, and a similar space of about 200 yards of high ground divided it from the Meldreth morass still further to the west." There is no trace of this work on the Ordnance Map. Various antiquities have been found near to it and about Melbourn, viz. "funereal urns now in the British Museum," Samian ware and coins.

The Chronicle Hills, three tumuli, which stood in a line bearing north and south upon the eastern side of a brook which divides the parishes of Triplow and Whittlesford, and a short distance to the north of the supposed continuation of the *Ashwell Street*, were levelled in 1819. They contained the remains of skeletons. Adjoining them an ancient well or Roman rubbish pit was found filled with broken pieces of pottery with red and black glazing, and a number of tiles formed to overlap each other. Remains of interments were also found in other tumuli near the Chronicle Hills, and the remnants of a bronze vessel. One of the skeletons was in a sitting posture. In both of these cases bones of animals were observed, and especially an enormous quantity of very small bones, but the animal to which they belonged was not determined (*Gent. Mag.* lxxxix. 1, t. 27; *Camb. Chron.* Nov. 13, 1819).

Near Foxton, which lies to the north of Foulmire, an Amphora, a much-broken vase of Arretine ware, and other articles of Roman pottery, were found in 1852 (*Camb. Antiq. Soc. Comm.* i. 43), also a Roman key of bronze.

A representation of the vase more perfectly restored than as figured in the *Communications* is on p. 64. It is represented as of $\frac{1}{3}$ rd the real size, but the potter's marks from its side and foot are of the size of the original.

At Hinxton and Whittlesford coins of the early emperors have been found, and at the latter place a cinerary urn of a peculiarly elegant shape.

Mr Woodward supposed that the *Ickniel Way* starting from Norwich passed by Buckenham to Ixworth, and from thence to Bury St Edmund's. In my opinion, and in that of the Ordnance Surveyors, it may still be traced from near Thetford to Kentford. Mr Woodward lays down a British way on the line which I believe to have been taken by the *Ickniel Way*, viz., from Norwich by Wymondham and Attleborough to Thetford (*Archæol.* xxiii. 368).

It is not proposed to treat here of the alternative tracks on the Essex side of this way. They are very fully detailed by Mr Beldam in his valuable paper (*Archæol. Journ.* xxv.) but are out of our county.



7. PEDDAR WAY.—The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne (*Salopia Antiqua*, 274) has employed this term to designate an ancient, probably Roman, road, which, having no recognized name throughout the greater part of its course, bears this appellation in the part which lies between Castle Acre and the sea. It began at Stratford-le-Bow near London, and passing Woodford, Epping, Harlow, Bishop's Stortford, and Newport, reached

Great Chesterford, at about a mile beyond which it joined the *Ickniel Way*, and they proceeded together at least as far as Worsted Lodge on the *Via Devana*, and perhaps to Mutlow Hill Gap in the *Balsham Dyke*. It is probable that they separated at the former place, and that the *Peddar Way* went by Shardlow's Well at the northern end of the stronger part of the *Balsham Dyke*, and then along a series of lanes commencing a little to the south of Great Wilbraham, and extending to the Beacon tumuli at Upper Hare Park on the ascent of Newmarket Heath. These lanes are now called the *Street Way*, and it is by the side of them that Lord Braybrooke excavated an extensive Anglo-Saxon burial-place, and found many valuable antiquities¹. It seems then to have passed through what is now called the Running Gap in the *Devil's Ditch*, by the end of the marshy ground at St Mindred's Well, otherwise called Favin's Head, to Exning, where many Saxon and Roman (*Camb. Antiq. Soc. Rep.* vi. 10, and Museum) remains have been found. From Exning its line lay apparently by Chippenham and Badlingham to Mildenhall (where Roman remains have been found, as I learnt from Mr Arthur Taylor), or Barton Mills, by Mareway or Portway Hill (by both of which names the place is known) to Brandon, and so by Mundford, Ickborough, and Hilborough, to Swaffham and Castle Acre, terminating at Brancaster. According to this view of the course of the *Peddar Way*, it would appear to have supplied for the Romans the place of the older British *Ickniel Way* throughout that part of its course which lies to the east of Chesterford. The *Ashwell Street* probably did the same for many miles to the west of that place. The late Mr Woodward supposed that the *Peddar Way* reached Castle Acre from quite a different district. He brings it in a direct line from Ixworth in

¹ See "Saxon Obsequies illustrated by ornaments and weapons discovered by the Hon. R. C. Neville in a cemetery near Little Wilbraham, 1852."

Suffolk by Brettenham, leaving Swaffham a little to the west (*Archæol.* xxiii. 370, t. 31). It is stated by him that the road is tolerably distinct from Brettenham to the west side of Merton Hall near Watton.

Mr R. Gale states (*Rel. Gal. in Bibl. Topog. Brit.* iii. 117), that at a place called by the country people Starbury Hill, just above the London road near Audley End, there are the visible remains of a square work, where the author of Sir Thos. Smith's life (p. 130) tells us Roman money has been found, particularly a golden coin of Claudius; which is also confirmed by Hollinshed (p. 218), who mentions likewise the finding of a large antique silver cup there. This camp is stated to be square, but is probably what is now called Ring Hill, although certainly that intrenchment is not square.

The late Lord Braybrooke examined the Roman station at Chesterford with great care, and collected a very extensive Museum of the remains disinterred there under his directions, which is preserved at Audley End. He considers Chesterford to have been the ICEANUM of the Romans. He has given an account of these antiquities in two privately printed volumes entitled, *Antiqua explorata*, and *Sepulta explorata*, and also a sketch of his proceedings in the *Journal of the Archæological Association* (iii. 208 and 344).

Prof. T. M^cK. Hughes has given in the fortieth *Annual Report of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* an interesting preliminary report concerning a kiln discovered at Great Chesterford just on the borders of our county, in 1880. It is so interesting that a notice of it is given here notwithstanding its position just outside our bounds. "It consists of a circular chamber the top of which is about 12 feet in diameter and was sunk 18 feet into the ground, tapering to a flat-bottomed basin. It was surrounded by a wall of large round or subangular stones...set with a calcareous mud, and the inside plastered with the same. The walls were 1 foot 8 inches

thick. At 4 feet 7 inches from the bottom there was a ledge a little over a foot across. The chamber was entered on the north side at the level of the ledge by a pathway which sloped gently from the surface of the ground. A few Roman bricks had been used in forming the doorway. There was a window-like opening about 2 feet in its longest diameter, probably for draught, about 9 feet from the bottom of the opposite side. The top of this 'kiln' had been broken away at an early period. From its contents it was clear that it had been used as a refuse pit." (See p. 31). The date of this pit is shown by the Roman bricks used in its wall and the discovery of coins of Magnentius (A.D. 350—353), Valentinianus (A.D. 364—375), and Victorianus amongst the rubbish contained in it. It also contained the bones of *Bos primigenius*, horse, sheep, red-deer, pig, dog, cat (whether wild or domestic was not determined), and the common fowl. There was a great variety of broken Roman pottery, a few bronze articles, and other remains in it.

Lord Braybrooke made excavations at Mutlow Hill, a large tumulus close adjoining the Balsham Dyke. He found Roman remains consisting of bronze fibulæ, armillæ, &c., and 79 coins, including those of Antoninus Pius (silver); Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Aurelius, Commodus, and Caracalla, of first brass; Vespasian, Titus, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, of second brass; Constantine, Licinius, Gratian, Victorinus, Postumus, Allectus, Claudius Gothicus, Tetricus, Valentinianus, of third brass. These were found in the examination of the foundations, composed of large bricks shaped from chalk, of a circular building, measuring 35 feet across, and with 3 feet thickness of wall (*Archæol. Journ.* ix. 229).

Two of the barrows on the edge of Newmarket Heath, belonging to the group called the Beacons, were examined in May 1846 by a party from Cambridge. In one of them nothing was found as it appeared to have been previously opened; in the other the remains of a British interment, consisting of a

rude vase (now in the Cambridge Antiquarian Museum), a few bones, and some ashes, were discovered (*Camb. Chron.* May 23, 1846).

In removing a barrow for the purpose of improving the exercise ground on Newmarket Heath, an urn of rude construction and materials, containing ashes and some bones, was found in its centre; also two coins, supposed to be Roman, and a fragment of a cup of far superior manufacture to the urn above mentioned, were found lying amongst the soil at the depth of about two feet (*Camb. Chron.* Jan. 26, 1827).

Several Roman antiquities have been found at Exning, of which two urns are in the Cambridge Antiquarian Museum; and many coins of the later Roman Emperors have occurred there, but they are mostly illegible.

There appears to have been a road leaving the *Peddar Way* at Bishop's Stortford, crossing the *Erming Street* at Braughing, and continued to Baldock; passing by a track already noticed to Shefford, and perhaps carried on by Bedford, Higham Ferrars, Kettering, and Market Harborough to Leicester. This cross track probably started from Colchester, passing Braintree and Dunmow on its way to Bishop's Stortford.

8. THE FEN ROAD.—This road appears to have started from the coast of Norfolk at Happisburgh, passed by Walsham, Reepham, and Swaffham, where it crossed the *Peddar Way* to Denver near Downham Market, where it also crossed the *Akeman Street*, and proceeded in a pretty direct line to the high land at Norwood Common at about a mile to the north of March, near to which (on the road to Wisbech, and therefore probably not far from the line of the Roman Way) three urns full of burned bones, and a pot containing 160 denarii of nearly all the Emperors from Vespasian to Antoninus Pius inclusive, were found in 1730 (Gough's *Camden*, 141); an aureus of Valentinianus was found there in 1845. Mr W. Marshall of Ely informs me that near Eastrey this road stands

1—2 feet above the present surface of the land, and is nearly 60 feet wide, and as hard as stone. The road then went by Eldernell to Whittlesey, and the neighbourhood of Standground. It perhaps crossed the river at Peterborough, from whence Dr Bennet states that it had, in his time, been recently traced to the Roman station near Castor, and Mr Gibson says positively that that was its course; passing from Peterborough in a straight line through Milton Park, and the then open field to Love Hill, and so on to the centre of the camps at Castor (*Antoninus*, iii.); or it may have gone direct to Chesterton, and joined the *Erming Street* before crossing the river. Sir W. Dugdale, in his *History of Embanking* (p. 175), speaks of this road as follows: "Neither is the long causeway made of gravel of about 3 feet in thickness and 60 feet broad (now [1662] covered with moor, in some places 3, and in some others 5 feet thick), which extendeth itself from Downham in Norfolk (near Salter's Lode) over the great wash to Charke; thence to March, Plantwater, and Eldernell, and so to Peterborough, in length about 24 miles, likely to be other than Roman work, as may be seen from the words of Herodian (Lib. 3) in the life of Severus the Emperor, where taking notice how hardy and warlike a people the Britons were, and of their expertness in swimming, he saith: 'Sed imprimis tamen curæ habuit pontibus occupare paludes, ut stare in tuto milites.....siquidem pleraque loca frequentibus oceani alluvionibus paludescunt; per eas igitur paludes barbari ipsi natant.'" In another place he remarks: "Mr Jonas Moore (the chief surveyor of this great work of draining in Cambridgeshire and the counties adjacent) tells me that the causeway I formerly mentioned is 60 feet broad in all places where they have cut through it, and about 18 inches thickness of gravel lying upon moor, and now in many places 3 feet deep under a new accession of moor" (Sir W. Dugdale to Sir T. Brown 1658, in Brown's *Posth. Works*, p. 4). Stukeley says that it was often discovered when

digging the drains. I know nothing personally of much of this line. The difficulty of tracing an ancient road through such a country is of course peculiarly great; as however the Ordnance Surveyors mark a line throughout the whole of the above course from Denver Sluice to Whittlesey it is nearly certain that they saw traces of it. On the line of this road we find that there are eleven miles of fen between Denver and March, and four between the latter place and Eldernell, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Whittlesey to Horsey Hill, where the road crossed the Old Nen river. Mr Little (*Journ. Archæol. Assoc.* xxxv. 267) has given a detailed account of it, especially of that part between March and Eldernell. He says "it is a causeway raised about 3 feet above the fen, and challenges the notice of the most careless passer by.....On the high lands by March it can hardly be seen.....but that it was visible a few years ago there can be no doubt. After leaving the high lands of March the road makes an abrupt turn to the north-west as if to keep to the high land as long as possible. After running in that direction for about a thousand yards it resumes its former direction to the west and crosses the fen in a fairly straight line for about four miles to Eldernell."

Wells traces on the map, appended to his work entitled *The Bedford Level*, what is manifestly the course of this road, which he there calls Ireton's Way, but does not give that name to it in his text, where he informs us that "at various places the remains of this stupendous undertaking may be easily traced" (*Bedford Level*, i. 60).

In May, 1853, I saw traces of the eastern part of it, in the form of a ridge crossing a ploughed field, between a lane which is the boundary of the parish of Denver at Nordelph and a wind-mill, following the line faintly traced on the Ordnance Map. Along that narrow line only there was plenty of flint gravel, which must have been brought from a considerable distance. A middle-aged labourer directed us to the spot, and stated that his grand-

father had told him that a gravel road had been found there when some of the drains were cut. I also saw what seemed to be its remains, extending from a spot called Stone Cross a little to the north-east of Denver, along a lane and across a grass field, and pointing towards Bexwell and Crimplesham. It seems probable that the *Akeman Way* and *Fen Road* crossed each other at the spot now called Stone Cross. On another occasion I saw the road commencing at about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the west of the former place, and followed its course over the lands by London Lode (marked as Neatmore, Lot XI. on *Well's Map* of the Bedford Level) as far as Fortrey's Drain. On the ploughed land it was shown by the yellow colour of the corn, and in a grass-field by a well-defined ridge about 52 feet wide with a depression upon each side. An old man working at one of the drains stated that he remembered having heard of an old gravel road on the line of the *Fen Way*, and that it was not the old road which ran by the side of London Lode. In a newspaper paragraph, signed J. A. C. in June, 1850, it is stated that the chief Roman road in the Fens "is that stretching over Bedford Level, between Denver and Peterborough, 24 miles in length, and about 63 feet broad and 3 feet thick. It consists of a layer of oak trees immediately on the moor (which is much compressed by the weight), above them a paving of Northamptonshire flag-stone, and upon that alternate coatings of gravel and clay cemented into a hard mass." Mr W. Marshall, of Ely, believes from "careful personal examination" that this road has never been covered by the peat. He says "I found unmistakeable proofs that that causeway had been carried over the peat, and constructed upon boughs and branches of trees; and that there is a considerable thickness of peat under it." But he adds "I am acquainted with one gentleman who knows the locality well, who thinks that Dugdale's statement may be reconciled with the present aspect of the causeway" (*Camb. Antiq. Comm.* iv. 205).

In the course of the formation of the railway, three Roman vases were found in a bed of gravel 3 feet below the surface at Norwood Side by March, which are now in the Wisbech Museum. "In 1730, when the road was making from Wisbech to March [between March common and Guyhirne], two urns were found, in one of which were bones and ashes, and in the other about 300 pieces of silver coin, of all the Roman Emperors from Vespasian to Constantine, both inclusive, no two pieces alike (*Reliq. Gal. in Bibl. Topog. Brit.* iii. 163 and 465, where they are described). Also a few years since [before 1827] some coins of Hadrian were found in a field of Mr Richards'; and more recently, in digging a hole for a gatepost, nearly half a peck of base silver, of about the time of Gallienus, was found at Stoney, near March" (Watson's *Wisbech*, 588). Also, a large quantity of Roman pottery, including Samian ware and sepulchral urns, was presented to the Wisbech Museum, in Jan. 1848, by Mr W. E. Rose, which had been found at Stoney in the course of the formation of the railway at that place (*Camb. Chron.* Jan. 8, 1848). In one of them an aureus of Antoninus was found (*Arch. Journ.* xix. 365).

Mr I. Deck possessed a necklace of 39 rough amber, and 3 blue glass beads, and also a bronze spear head and various other "Roman" implements. They were found in company with a skeleton in Maney Fen, and were British rather than Roman (*Camb. Chron.* May 2, 1840). Maney is at some distance from any of the old roads, and in the heart of the fens.

At Thorney, which is a few miles to the north of Whittlesey, many very well preserved urns and coins have been dug up near to the church. There were several coins of Trajan (Watson's *Wisbech*, 560).

About the year 1742, several Roman lamps were found by a man who was ploughing at Glassmore (a little to the S.E. of Angle Bridge on the Whittlesey Dyke); they were made of red

ware, and all found lying very regularly in a row (Watson's *Wisbech*, 569. Minutes of Spald. Soc. in Gough's *Camden*, ii. 140*).

Mr Woodward supposed that this road reached Denver by a direct route from Norwich, passing by Ovington and Oxburgh. He mentions that traces of a road have been noticed at Hetherset, on a farm called Plainard's—also in the parish of Saham, where three Roman pigs of lead were found,—likewise that there is a Roman encampment at Ovington,—and that Roman coins have been found at Oxburgh (*Archæol.* xxxiii. 368). This is an extremely likely course for a road to have taken; but, even allowing its existence, it does not destroy the high probability of the line by Swaffham. There appear to be traces of an ancient road passing by Stradset to Swaffham, and also, I think, to the east of that place on the way to Hap-pisburgh, and perhaps Norwich.

9. ELY TO SPALDING.—Dr Stukeley believed that a road branched from the *Akeman Street* at Littleport (at least so I understand his remarks), and went by the way of Welney, probably along the line of the Old Causeway Dyke to Upwell and Elm; and from thence in a direct line to Spalding. It seems to have kept on the western side of the Ouse (which then ran in the course of what is now called the Welney River) to Welney, at which place many Roman coins have been found (Gough's *Camden*, 141*), of which Watson (*Wisbech*, 553) tells us that they were obtained in 1718 (*Cole's MS.*), and that plates of them were engraved and presented to Trinity College Library by Beauprè Bell. At Welney it probably crossed the river and took a direct course along the Old Causeway Dyke¹ to Upwell, near to which place, in 1844, "some labourers digging upon an old Roman road, in the occupation of G. Wooll, Esq....found two vases filled with coins of various sizes in an

¹ See map in Armstrong's *King's Lynn*.

excellent state of preservation" (*Gent. Mag.* N. S. ix. 302). The road appears to have again crossed the river immediately after passing Welney.

"About the year 1713, an urn full of small Roman brass coins, most of them of Victorinus and Tetricus, was found not far from a tumulus at Elm; and a Roman altar, 26 inches high and 14 broad (*Cole's MSS.*), is stated to have been found at the same place. Also coins of Roman emperors from Gallienus down to Gratian were found in this parish, and deposited with Beauprè Bell, Esq., who has given an account thereof" (*Bib. Top.* iii. p. 169).

Concerning the further course of the road it may be well to quote the remarks of Stukeley as follows: "I suppose this road passed the Wisbech river above the town towards Guy-hurn Chapel [probably at or near to Cold Harbour], then went to Trokenholt and Clow's Cross,...from thence in a straight line to Spalding; by this means most of the square forts in [the Wapentake of] Elloe, where Roman antiquities were discovered, together with most of the southern hamlets, will be found to be situated near or upon it." Concerning the places thus noticed he states as follows: "At Gedney Hill several Roman coins have been found, some of Antoninus. In the same hamlet, about two miles north of Southsea bank, is a pasture called the High Doles, being a square doubly moated, where ancient foundations have been dug up and some Roman coins. Another like square so moated is in the parish of [Sutton] St Edmunds, about the same distance from the said bank where the like matters have been discovered. Aswich Grange [doubtless Aswichtoft] in Whaplode Drove parish [where Roman coins are still found (*Rep. &c. of Assoc. Archit. Soc.* i. 341)] is a high piece of ground square and moated about: in this and near it many Roman coins have been dug up, and urns, which I have seen. In the parish of Fleet near Ravensclough, about 1698, upon a piece of high ground where

buildings had been, Mr Edw. Lenton dug up a large urn with letters round it, full of Roman coins, about the quantity of three pecks,...they were of brass piled edgeways, mostly of the time of Gallienus and the thirty tyrants so called, Tetricus, Claudius Gothicus, Victorinus, Carausius, Allectus, &c." (Stuk. *Itin. Cur.* i. 11 and 13).

A road supposed to have crossed this at Elm and led to Wisbech, &c., will be described presently.

10. SUFFOLK AND SAWTRY WAY.—Several portions of this road are still in use, and are called the *Suffolk Way* to the south of the fens, and *Sawtry Way* to the north of them. It came from London to Dunmow (CÆSAROMAGUS?) by Wixoe, where it crossed the *Via Devana*, to Straddishall, by a very direct course, but perhaps threw off a loop route near Stambourne, by Ridgewell and Clare to Straddishall. It then seems to have changed its direction from north-east to a little to the west of north; passing by Lidgate, where Roman bricks and a coin of Alexander Severus have been found. At a little beyond which place it forms the boundary of the counties of Suffolk and Cambridge, and bears the name of *Suffolk Way*; then goes by Ouseden, from whence coins of Lucilia and Salomina have been obtained by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Passing to the east of Newmarket it seems to have gone through Chippenham Park to Fordham, along Brook Street to Soham, where on a piece of ground resembling an island in the fen seven or eight urns were found (Sir W. Dugdale in a letter to Sir T. Brown, 1658, in Brown's *Posth. Works*, 4), and with a raised gravel crest, along Soham Causeway to Ely. This raised part or causeway is believed to have been made, I should rather say repaired, for the first Bishop of Ely by a monk named John. (Ledger Book of Ely as quoted by Dugdale, *Embank.* cap. 41.) In those times it was not unfrequently said that a road was made by some one, when in fact it was only restored from a state of extreme decay upon the former foundation. Mr Litch-

field informed me that he had a Roman fibula and spear-head from Soham Fen.

I suspect that it left Ely along the high lands by Alderforth (perhaps Old Road) to Witchford, then passing a little to the north of Sutton (South Town) to Bury Steads, where it descended into the fen, and probably emerged again, after a distance of five miles, at Colne, the name of which shows that it probably is a Roman site.

Mr Hartshorne (*Salop. Antiq.* 273) proposes a different course for this, which he calls the *Sawtry Way*. He commences it at Thetford, Cambridgeshire, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Ely, and believes it to have passed by Stretham, Wilburton and Haddenham, where Roman vessels have been found (Cambridge Antiquarian Museum), to Earith, where fragments of Roman pottery were found in a field on his land, and given to the Wisbech Museum by Mr John Brown, a respected member of the Society of Friends, in 1848. What seem to have been British remains, such as "a dagger," are also mentioned by him as having been obtained from near the river Ouse at Earith. What is called the Bulwark at Earith lies between the two Bedford Rivers and may perhaps have been a Roman work. In the "restored contour" given in *Fenland* (p. 471) it is represented as rectangular with somewhat projecting angles, and each side as 200 feet in length within the vallum.

A Roman bronze figure of about 9 inches in height, which is now in the British Museum, is represented of half the real size by the wood-cut on the opposite page. It was found near Earith, and is described and illustrated by the Rev. S. S. Lewis in the *Camb. Antiq. Comm.* (iii. 231). Mr Brown, its former owner, also states, in a letter with which he has favoured me, that querns have been met with there: also in the same field where the pottery lay he found a "square of about 16 feet, set with common pebbles, about 2 feet below the soil, with a pebbled path leading from it;" also a coin of Commodus, and a small

Roman vase which is in the Wisbech Museum. This road then led to Needingworth and the neighbourhood of St Ives, whence it was continued along what is still called the *Sawtry Way*, which commences at about one mile to the west of St Ives. Should this be the correct view, it may have approached the river Ouse from Soham by crossing the narrow fen to Barraway,



which is on high land and just opposite to Thetford. Even under this supposition it seems highly probable that the line from Ely to Colne is also ancient. Dr Grove mentions (*Camb. Univ. Reporter*, 1880, 140) the discovery of a Romano-British cinerary urn, 7 inches in height in Haddenham Fen near the supposed line of this road.

It is worthy of remark that there is another drier but circuitous route by which Thetford may be reached from Ford-

ham, viz. by keeping along the top of the narrow ridge of so-called "highland" by Wicken and Spinny Abbey to Fordey, and thence crossing the river to Thetford. The word Fordey, or Road Island, as it probably may be translated, is suggestive.

It is also interesting to learn that a Roman coin was found at Spinny in 1856, and three coins of Antoninus near Wicken in 1859. The Rev. H. Pigot brought before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (Nov. 29, 1880) several Roman funereal vessels which had been found near the north end of the ridge marked on the Ordnance Map as an "old road," which would be by the side of this supposed line of communication. It is interesting as showing that there must have been Roman habitations near to this now isolated spot, and probably the graves were as usual by the side of the road.

On my supposition that this road went to Colne, it must have divided into two branches; one going to the neighbourhood of St Ives¹ to be continued along the *Sawtry Way*, as would also be the case on Mr Hartshorne's plan, the other proceeding to Bury near Ramsey in Huntingdonshire. Doubtless there was some road from Bury to the *Erming Street* and *Via Devana*, and as much of the country lying to the west of Bury (Hunts.) must have been very difficult to traverse, it seems not unlikely that a road was directed towards Huntingdon, and perhaps also went to a ford at or near Hemingford or Holywell, so as to communicate with the *Via Devana*, which passes at not more than a mile to the south of the river at the former place. If this ford was at Holywell, the way probably passed by Swavesey; but if, as seems far more probable, the Ouse was crossed at Hemingford, it is likely that the connecting

¹ Gorham states (*St Neots*, 15), on the authority of Hutchinson's MS. on Huntingdonshire, that there was a Roman post at Holywell near St Ives. He says that there was a chain of forts on the Ouse, viz. Sandy, Eynesbury, Godmanchester, and Holywell. The first three are well known; the last I now hear of for the first time.

track was continued beyond the way to Cambridge, along what is now called the *Moat Way*, by Littlebury to Latenbury on the *Erming Street*, and possibly may have even extended by Graveley to join the road to Sandy.

The modern *Sawtry Way* is a straight line of road commencing on Houghton Hill, and passing by King's and Abbot's Ripton and Wood Walton to join the *Erming Street* or *Stangate*, near Sawtry.

Mr Litchfield had a small sacrificial cup made of bronze of about 6 inches in height, with two handles formed in imitation of the caduceus of Mercury, and on each side a centaur, one of which is playing upon a pipe. It was found in the deep cutting made for the railroad, near Somersham.

At a later period there seems to have been considerable communication across the Ouse near St Ives, which caused the contiguous villages of Hemingford Grey and Abbots to spring up on the south side, and Wyton and Houghton similarly on the northern side of the river.

11. ALDRETH CAUSEWAY.—There is an ancient road which each of the tracks just mentioned crosses at right angles: in the one case near Witcham, and in the other at Haddenham. As much of this road as is nearly certainly ancient, is almost parallel to the *Akeman Street*, and served, like it, as a way from the drier lands near Cambridge to the islands in the fen. Before the diversion of the waters of the Ouse from what is now called the Old Ouse or Old West River to the magnificent artificial cuts known as the Bedford Rivers, the access to those islands must have been always difficult and often nearly impossible. The Romans reached them by means of the road from Cambridge to Ely (the *Akeman Street*), crossing the river and its accompanying fen near Stretham; and their judgment in selecting this route is shown by its having continued with little interruption, and with only slight deviations from its line, to be the principal way into the Isle of Ely up to the present time. At a late

period of the middle ages, and until the modern causeway near Stretham was formed, a track starting from Cottenham and crossing the West River at Twenty-pence Ferry communicated with Wilburton. If we proceed up the old valley of the Ouse from Twenty-pence Ferry we soon arrive at the road first mentioned in this paragraph. It is called the Mare Way and is probably first seen at about half way between Rampton and Willingham, at a spot marked by a sort of square on the Ordnance Map, but concerning which we can form no conjecture as it is now quite altered by the enclosure of the land. From that place it may be faintly traced as a raised road (but with two singular breaks in its continuity, where it terminates abruptly to recommence at a distance of 50 or 60 yards, at first to the left and in the other instance to the right hand of its former course) until it reaches Belsar's Hill. This is a large nearly circular camp inclosing about 6 acres, the ramparts of which have been much lowered since the enclosure of the district and seem to be gradually disappearing under the plough. This camp is supposed to derive its name from Belisarius the Roman general, and to have been occupied by him in his war with the Vandals whom Probus had planted in Cambridgeshire (E. A. Freeman in lit.). It seems improbable that he made it; and if Aldreth Causeway and the Mare Way are Roman, as some reasonably believe, the Belsar's Hill was probably a British fort altered and occupied by the Roman troops. From Belsar's Hill to Aldreth the Mare Way is more distinct. It crosses the Old Ouse River at High Bridge, which is now in a very dilapidated state, for I learn that it has not been repaired since I was there a few years since, when both the abutments of the wooden bridge were gone and it was with much difficulty that it could be crossed. I was informed by the late Mr C. H. Cooper that a piece of land near the bridge is legally charged with its repair, and the owner ought to be required to make it passable and keep it so. It would be a misfortune if

this ancient and valuable means of access to the Isle of Ely was totally destroyed as seems not improbable. From the High Bridge the road is continued under the name of Aldreth Causeway. It need scarcely be added that this name is a corruption of Etheldreda, the foundress of the Abbey of Ely. The existence of this name adds, in my opinion, to the probability of William I. having found a road here, and not made it as some have supposed. His chief attack upon the Isle in his war with Hereward seems to have been made there (see Freeman's *Norm. Conquest*, iv. 472). This causeway, although now but little used, was once of such importance that (as I learned from the Rev. S. Banks, Rector of Cottenham, but formerly resident at Haddenham) various parishes in the fens are liable to provide for the repair of small parts of it respectively. From Aldreth the road is continued by what is called the *Sand Way* to Haddenham, and probably extended to Witcham, or even further. It is nearly certain that this line of communication was connected at its southern end with Cambridge, along what is now called Cuckoo Lane, and through the village of Histon. Between the above-mentioned square spot and the commencement of Cuckoo Lane it has been nearly obliterated by the enclosure of the land, but was still (in 1855) known by the name of *Mare Way*. Country people inform me that, before the enclosure, there was an old road that diverged to the right from the *Via Devana* at How House, and led to Histon: this may have been the original line to Cambridge.

At Rampton, about a mile and a half to the south of Belsar's Hill, there is a curious quadrangular mound defended by a deep and broad ditch, and also an outer bank upon three of its sides. It is called Giant's Hill, and inclosed the old residence of the De Lisle family. Close behind Giant's Hill there is an oblong mound called Giant's Grave, now covered with brushwood. A gold coin of Nero was found at Rampton in 1858 (*Camb. Chron.* Dec. 4, 1858); also a Roman Urn was found

there in 1843, and is in the Cambridge Antiquarian Museum. At Cottenham, which lies at about half way between this road and the *Akeman Street*, a fourth brass coin of Gratianus, a small Roman urn, the neck of a large vase, and part of an amphora have been found, and are in the Cambridge Antiquarian Museum.

Also, the late Rev. S. Banks had several vases and a beautiful Roman bust which were found in the parish of Cottenham near to the borders of Landbeche parish, in some gravel pits which were rich in broken Roman pottery, and closely adjoin the supposed line of the *Car Dyke* which is described on a future page. A figure of this bust, which has been acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, is here given of two-thirds the size of the original. Including the helmet it is about 7 inches in height, of which the helmet is 2 inches. The helmet was loose when found, but was apparently originally attached to the bust. The bust represents a Roman Emperor which Mr King supposes was Marcus Aurelius. The chief interest is found in the helmet, which "represents the face of a Gaul or Briton. The same character of face, the same lips and moustache may be seen on the statue of the Dying Gaul of the Capitol, or the earlier Pergamene sculpture. On the forehead is an ornament like the ring money of ancient Ireland; behind which on each side above the ears are two snake-like figures. As the hair could not be represented in strong relief on a casque, it is merely indicated by a rough etching similar to that which is also used for shading on other parts of the face." (King, MS.)

At Over, distant about two miles from the other side of this road, a denarius of Faustina the elder has been found; also a great number of the copper coins of the lower empire, contained in the remains of a metal box, were obtained by Mr J. Symons. I was informed by Mr E. Litchfield that so far as could be made out they were mostly coins of Constantine. Also chains of complicated construction and apparently Roman, one having



large hooks attached, probably for hanging meat, the other intended to suspend a camp-kettle, were found at a depth of about 5 feet in Over Fen, in 1850 (Camb. Antiquarian Museum). At Coveney, which is not far from Witcham, the beautiful British shields described in the 'Publications' of the Society, and preserved in its Museum, were found. (See p. 17.)



About the year 1839, a flint weapon was found in the channel of the Old Ouse River, and in 1854, a fine bronze sword was met with near the same spot. Both of these articles are in the Cambridge Antiquarian Museum. In about 1840 the washing away of the soil brought to light a black Roman vase by the side of the Haddenham Engine-drain; also

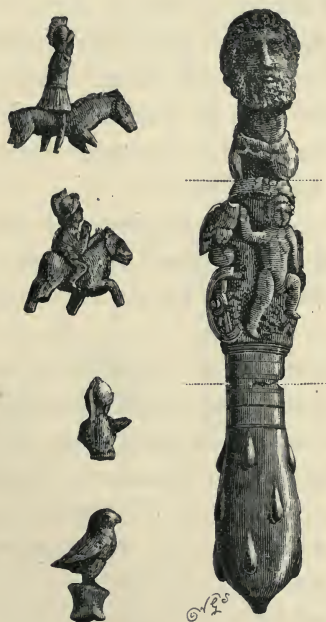
a Roman coin was found in Haddenham churchyard, as I was informed by Mr Banks.

In March 1857, as one of the labourers of Mr Thomas Greaves of Willingham was ploughing a field called "The Hempsalls," at the extremity of the parish adjoining Cottenham, the plough-share turned up something which attracted his attention. He made further search and found a considerable number of curious things which he brought to the village, when they proved to be of Roman origin. They are chiefly of bronze and consist of the detached remains of a baton or some similar object, consisting of several tubular pieces, and bosses forming apparently the ends. It is doubtful if all the pieces were found, as they do not fit exactly together, and the whole, if we have the whole, forms a rather short baton. One of the pieces is very remarkable, being ornamented with figures in very high relief: at the upper end a bust of Marcus Aurelius apparently; beneath it a naked boy; to the left of the boy an eagle, which has lost its head, standing upon a ball; this ball rests on a wheel. To the right of the boy is the head of a bovine animal with short conical horns and large erect ears. Beneath the bust and between the eagle and the ox there is a figure which may represent a dolphin. All the pieces seem to have been held in their places by a stick passing through them, a portion of which remains: the tube is about an inch in diameter.

There are also remains of two other bronze batons of smaller size and simpler structure, consisting only of pieces of metal tube marked with rings externally, and knobs at each end. But their wooden part is gone, and it is difficult to correctly assign the several pieces to their proper relative places.

There are also many detached pieces of bronze, and what appear to be the remains of a bit. In the same field were found (1) a vitrified ring with enamelled ornaments, (2) a large amber bead, (3) several rings of jet (?).

There were also found with the above things several curious little bronze figures of horsemen fully armed and mounted upon clumsy disproportioned horses (they are represented in the annexed woodcut, together with the above-described curious baton, all of one-fourth the true size). Also an eagle, an owl, several diminutive human masks, and two large semitransparent beads, one deep blue and the other lighter blue, were



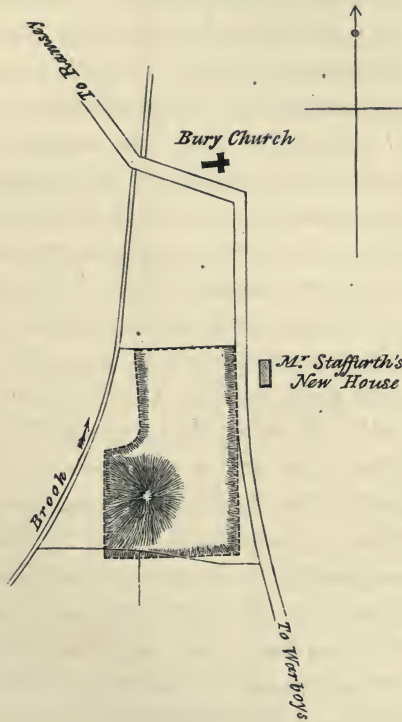
found. All these things are still in the possession of Mr Geo. Pegler, Schoolmaster at Willingham, to whom they were first taken. Mr Worthington Smith has made as good a representation of them in the annexed cut as seems possible. They have all very much suffered from time and apparently from blows received during the cultivation of the field. The dotted lines mark the extent of each piece of the baton.

In Feb. 1881, a man ploughing in "Twenty-eight acre field" in Middle Fen, Willingham, turned up an earthen pot from about 7 inches beneath the surface. It was perfect and full of coins. He immediately smashed it to get at the coins, which were apparently very numerous, and were dispersed in the village. But many appear to have been rusted together into a useless lump. Amongst those which have been examined there were small third brass coins of Aurelianus, Tacitus, Probus, Claudius Gothicus, Portumus, Tetricus, Victorianus, and some of the Constantine family. One or more other vessels were found in the same place soon afterwards, but nothing is known of them or their contents; they fell into the hands of the labourers who destroyed them, and if anything was in them they appropriated it.

Also a large collection of pieces of pottery (not broken pots but detached broken pieces) was found. Can they have been connected with one of the marks made by the Agrimensores?

BURY NEAR RAMSEY. As it is believed that the station near Bury in Huntingdonshire has not been described, it is desirable to include some account of it. The village of Bury is situated at about a mile to the south of Ramsey in Huntingdonshire. The station is a little to the south of the church on a slight elevation called May Hill, but is not now to be easily traced. The eastern side nearly corresponds with the hedge by the road to Warboys, and is raised several feet above the road by scarping the slope of the hill. The northern end of this bank is occupied by the hedge, but in its southern half the hedge is placed at its base. The southern side of the station is to the north of a hedge at its eastern, and to the south of it at its western end. The western side is divided into two parts by the shape of the hill and the boggy ground at its base. It is formed with a terrace placed against the base, or rather cut out, of the hill just above the marsh, through which a brook flows at a short

distance. The parts of this side are nearly straight, and are connected by a curve; along the whole of it the terrace is to be traced. The northern side appears now to be occupied by a hedge, but cannot be clearly made out. The inclosed space



is large, being fully a furlong in length from north to south, but less from east to west, and narrower in its northern than its southern half. It is commandingly situated, and must have had great strength. Its interior rises into a considerable hill for this flat district, and its highest point is capped by a large tumulus with a cup-shaped top. With the slight exception of the parts on the outside of the eastern and southern hedges,

the whole forms one grass field, and does not appear to have ever been under the plough. See plan annexed.

12. BURY TO WISBECH AND SPALDING.—There is reason to suspect that a Roman road went from Bury (Hunts.), perhaps along an embankment crossing Bury Plashes to Ramsey; then by Cold Harbour, near Ramsey Mere to Benwick, where Roman coins have been found (Stukeley, *Car.* ii. 139); then by Appleborough, near Doddington, where, in 1821, some copper coins of the Emperors Decentius and Constantius were found (Watson's *Wisbech*, 585). There has also been a recent discovery of a large quantity of Roman pottery at Wimblington, on the line of the railway, and near to it, as Mr W. E. Rose informs me; he also tells me that near the same spot a vase was turned up by the plough in 1848, containing at least 2000 copper coins in a very decomposed state. Mr Rose states that, "curiously enough the bottom of the vase contained a piece of lead evidently run into it in a liquid state, the size and thickness being equal to a twopenny piece." He adds that "the whole of this locality [near Doddington] has produced Roman and British antiquities." The track went by March, where, near to the church, there is a square entrenchment, having Burrow Moor and Burrow Farm adjoining it. It next crossed the *Fen Road*, and passing Coldham, where Mr Rose states, in the letter with which he has favoured me, that drain-pipes and other Roman fragments have been found; and Waldersey, where a Roman vase was found in 1845. Also at the latter place, in the year 1785, "an earthen pot containing a considerable quantity of small copper coins, chiefly of Valentinianus and Arcadius, was dug up" (Watson's *Wisbech*, 507 and 508); and in 1845 a large Roman vase was found in Waldersey Fen, and presented to the Wisbech Museum by Mr W. Jecks, where most of the above-mentioned antiquities are also preserved.

At and near to Wisbech many Roman coins have occurred. An aureus of Valentinianus, found in 1845, is in the Cambridge

Antiquarian Museum. In the Wisbech Museum there are Roman coins found on the North Brink, and a Roman vase found in a field at South Brink, and coins from other parts of the neighbourhood. Beyond Wisbech the road ran at a short distance within the Roman sea-bank by Newton, where coins of Gallienus occurred in about the year 1787 (Watson's *Wisbech*, 487), and more recently of Victorinus; by Tydd St Mary, near to which place at Tydd Go'ut, a vase was found in the Roman sea-bank, which is now in the Wisbech Museum, and then by Long Sutton and Fleet, to Spalding. My information concerning this part of the road is derived from a paper in the *Reports*, &c. of the Associated Architectural Societies (i. 340), in which it is described, and stated to be "probably the old British path on the borders of the marsh, it being still at Fleet called Haregate or Hergate. In the old terriars the road has the same name near Spalding. A part of this road at and beyond Moulton was originally a little to the north of the present road, and is still called Old Spalding Gate;" otherwise it corresponds with the modern road.

That part of the Roman bank which I have traced, extending from close to Wisbech to Tydd Go'ut, is of immense size and presents the appearance of extreme antiquity. It seems to have followed the former coast-line through all its irregularities. In excavating the Eau Brink cut near Lynn the Roman bank was cut through and found to stand upon a bed of clay, over which 4 or 5 feet of deposits had accumulated. The clay was 8 feet thick, and rested upon peat which contained oak, alder, beech, fir, and hazel branches, stems and roots, evidently on the site of their growth. It was only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet above low-water mark (*from a Newspaper paragraph signed J. A. C., June 24, 1850*).

It must be confessed that the whole of the above line of supposed road is chiefly founded upon probability, and the discovery of antiquities. The undoubted existence of Roman sea-banks on

the coast of the Wash, shows that this district was considered of value at that period. Dugdale was fully convinced that the sea-board of Marshland and Holland was gained from the sea by the Romans (*Embanking*, cap. 34). At Walsoken near Wisbech, and close to the Roman sea-bank, two coins of Constantine were found and presented to the Wisbech Museum (*Camb. Chron.* March 2, 1850). At Walpole St Peter, a few miles to the north of Wisbech, and also close to these sea-banks, Mr E. Cony stated that a tenant of his, "who lives under the bank, upon digging in his garden, about 3 feet under ground, found many Roman bricks, and an aqueduct made with earthen pipes. These pipes were made of pale reddish earth, and grew hard again upon their being exposed some time to the air; the length of these was 20 inches, the bow $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the thickness of their sides half an inch, one of the ends much smaller than the other." (*In a letter from E. Cony, Esq., to R. Gale, Esq., dated Nov. 8, 1727, in Bibl. Topog. Brit. (Reliq. Gal.)* iii. 49.)

A spear, the umbo of a shield, an earthen vessel, and a glass drinking-cup, similar to those figured by Mr C. R. Smith (*Collectanea Antiqua*, ii. t. 51), were found on a slightly elevated spot near Somersham [now called Chatteris] Ferry. They are described and figured in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (xxxvi. 119) by Dr Stukeley, and although called British by him were undoubtedly Saxon remains. "In 1824, an earthen vessel, which contained about 1000 small copper coins, chiefly of Constantius, many of Constans and Constantine, and a few with the...emblem of Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf, was ploughed up near the [same] ferry, two miles from the town, on the site of the ancient river or West Water" (Watson's *Wisbech*, 578).

A large Roman vase was found at Chatteris in 1830 (height 15 inches, breadth 18 inches), and a small sepulchral vase containing ashes in 1819, both of which were presented

to the Wisbech Museum by Mr J. Girdlestone; also in the course of the works for the railroad near to that place, a large vase (height 16 inches, breadth 17 inches) containing bones was dug up and given to that museum by Mr W. E. Rose.

Near the road leading from Somersham to Chatteris, an urn with Roman coins, and others with sixty coins of the later emperors, were found in 1731 (Gough's *Camden*, 159). And Dr Stukeley states (*Reliq. Gal. in Bibl. Topog. Brit.* iii. 115) that Roman coins and antiquities have been found at Somersham.

At Cold Harbour, which is close to what was Ramsey Mere, this supposed road appears to have divided, a branch towards the north being called *Cnut's Dyke*, which will be noticed presently (p. 95).

13. THE BULLOCK ROAD.—For convenience I have employed this name to denote a road extending from Verulamium to Chesterton on the Nen, with a branch to Godmanchester; although it only bears that denomination in a part of its course, which may perhaps rightly be considered as a British Way rather than a Roman Street. It is hoped that this extension of the name will not be considered as very objectionable, when it is remembered that there is no name for the part of it which was certainly used, and perhaps much improved, by the Romans. It scarcely touches our county, but as some miles of it appear on the map it ought to be noticed here. If we commence at Baldock, where it crossed the *Icknield Way*, we find it to have nearly coincided with the modern turnpike-road for many miles to Biggleswade. At less than a mile from Baldock we arrive at Norton Bury, where, as has been already stated, a road to Shefford probably branched from it. A few miles in advance there is a Caldecot near to it on the right; and at a few miles further we meet with Stratton. Due east of Biggleswade it crosses

the *Akeman Street*, and leaving Road Farm a little to the right the modern road deserts it, and it follows the line of a fence; but is nearly or quite effaced for about a mile. It then reappears by a tumulus near to Fursdon Hall, and may be seen crossing the marshy land to Stratford and Chesterfield (or Chesterton, as named by Gorham), the site of *SALENÆ*, as is supposed by many authors. But Mr Beldam (*Arch. Journ.* xxv. 44), and Mr Watkin (*A. J.* xxxix. 268), attempt with some success to prove that they are in error, and that we do not know the name of the Roman station at Sandy. However that may be, we may follow the majority of antiquarians in calling it *Salenæ*, until more evidence is obtained concerning the site of that station, or the true name of that which was at Sandy is discovered.

On the opposite side of the river Ivel there are again two Caldecots. On Galley Hill, above Stratford, there is a Roman fort (probably that called Chesterton by Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.* 74), very strongly situated, as the sandy hill slopes abruptly from its ramparts on three of the sides. Separated from this fort by a narrow and deep valley is a point of elevated land, which is nearly surrounded by abrupt slopes, and has a very deep trench and lofty embankment drawn across the narrow neck, which connects it with the adjoining elevated district. This seems to have been the British settlement: the people now call it Cæsar's Camp, but it is certainly not Roman. Exactly opposite to the camp on Galley Hill there is a ford of the river Ivel, which was defended on its western side by the ancient ramparts called Beeston Berrys, of which there are now only faint traces to be seen. It is uncertain what was the exact site of the Roman town; and indeed as the space between the hills and the marshes is narrow, it may have been of considerable length, and trusted for its defence to the fortifications on the higher ground above it. My friend Mr Arthur Taylor placed it at the spot occupied by the railway station, above which

there is an irregular hill-top fortified along its curved edge by a tolerably strong rampart, but quite open at its eastern side, where it adjoins the hill-country. This is the place called Cæsar's Camp. If the station was at the place supposed by Mr Taylor, the road probably ascended the hill through a hollow on its north-western side. The Roman station is more usually placed at Chesterfield, about a quarter of a mile to the south of the railway station; and Dr Bennet states (*Lysons' Bedford*, 27) that "from the north-east side of the [Roman] station, near the banks of the Ivel, this road continues through a small valley, leaving the British camp above-mentioned [Cæsar's Camp] on the left-hand, and another hill which has been dug up for a stone-quarry on the right, straight to a hedge-row, which runs down through a piece of land to a small copse in the bottom [probably Hawksbury Wood], thence it continues equally straight, first as a boundary between Mr Pym's land and Sandy field [the Hasell Hedge], and then entering some enclosures crosses the road to Everton and Tempsford, then passes through a farm-yard, leaving the house [Gibraltar] to the left, and through some more enclosures to a farm-house [Low Farm, which is in Cambridgeshire], which stands upon it, then through another enclosure to Tempsford Marsh [where there is a Cold Harbour a little on the right]; after passing which it ascends the hill close to a barrow or tumulus, almost the invariable attendant on Roman roads." This tumulus is now destroyed, and its exact site unknown. Taking up the account of the road from this place, as given by Gorham (*St Neots*, pp. 3 and 4), and starting from Crane Hill, upon some part of which this tumulus stood, it bears north-east, "leaving the manor farm of Puttock's Hardwich and Lansbury grounds a little on the west, it forms the boundary between Eynesbury and Abbotsley parishes.....It crosses the road from St Neots to Cambridge close to the village of Weal; the main road being cut off from its course, and forming an elbow of

about 200 yards upon the very line of the Roman Street." Soon afterwards it forms the boundary of Cambridge and Huntingdon shires near Graveley, and then bears directly for Godmanchester. Mr Gorham justly remarks, that "it is not to be distinguished by an elevated crest...the repeated action of the plough has completely obliterated its former character; it consequently presents to the eye nothing more than an ordinary field-track." It does not seem to have entered the hexagonal station at Godmanchester, but passing along its western side, as the *Via Devana* did along the north-eastern, combined with it and the *Erming Street* to cross the Ouse. This is the Roman line, and we have now to endeavour to trace the British Way, which probably separated from it at a little to the south of Puttock's Hardwich, (if indeed it did not come along the valley from Sandy,) and went to Eynesbury, then crossed the Ouse probably at Eaton ford and went by Stirtlow (Streetlow?), Buckden, Brampton Hut, where it was crossed by the *Via Devana*, to Alconbury Weston, where near Hail Weston, on the way to Great Stoughton and to the south of the road, a bronze figure of Mercury is recorded by the Rev. G. C. Gorham to have been found. He gives a map of the remains in that neighbourhood. (*Archæol.* xxi. 550, t. 27.) For about a mile beyond that place, the exact line that it followed is not known. It then commences being called by the name of the *Bullock Road* at Upton, and soon passes by Coppingford and Cold Harbour. After advancing five miles we find another Cold Harbour, immediately after passing which the road crosses to the west of Billing Brook, thereby departing from the straight course to Chesterton. Probably it originally kept to the eastern side of the brook, and arrived at Chesterton by the "convenient ridge of high ground" mentioned by Horsley (*Brit. Rom.* 431). It is also probable that this part of the ancient road obtained its present name from being used by the drovers taking their cattle along it on the way to the great market at St Ives.

It is well known that they always followed the grassy parish-roads, when in their power, so as to avoid toll-gates and obtain ways more suited to the feet of cattle than the hard turnpike roads.

14. CNUT'S DYKE.—This now forms the foundation of the road from Bodsey near Ramsey to Pond's Bridge, and was continued by Horsey Hill and Standground to Peterborough. It runs by the side of Cnut's, or Suard's, or Oakley's Delph, and also bears those names. It forms the boundary of Cambridgeshire throughout nearly the whole of its course. Reynolds (*Anton.* 258) says that it was a paved causeway. It is older than the time of Cnut (as is shown below under the head of Car Dyke, p. 110), and is very probably Roman.

IV. ANCIENT DITCHES.

The four remarkable ancient ditches which are found in the southern part of Cambridgeshire are well deserving of attention, both from the grandeur of execution which is seen in two of them—for they are, it is believed, the strongest boundary ditches to be found in the kingdom—and from the remarkably skilful manner in which they have been planned so as to serve the purpose of their makers, and at the same time be of the least extent possible. From the fact that the elevated rampart is certainly on the eastern side of three of them, it may be stated with confidence that they were made by the inhabitants of the district now forming the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, as a defence against the attacks of the people of the interior. If it is really the fact that the Roman roads have been cut through the dykes in at least three places; as is stated by several of the older antiquaries who saw them at a time when inclosure had not altered the surface of the country as is now the case, nor the turnpike-roads been formed which represent the ancient Roman or British lines of way, and when therefore there was

far more certainty to be attained concerning the line of these ways; if, I repeat, the Romans did cut through the banks and fill up the ditches to make their roads, then of course the ditches were formed before the complete Roman settlement of this district. Some persons have supposed that they were made by the followers of Boadicea, others that they were the work of invaders, perhaps Belgæ, to secure the district conquered from the former Celtic inhabitants. It seems nearly if not quite impossible to lay down the course of the *Ickniel Way*, and the Roman Road which undoubtedly succeeded it, so as to avoid crossing one or more of these ditches; and had the ditches been works of a later time than the roads, we could hardly expect to have found the gaps cut exactly upon the line of the roads, as seems to be the case with that near Pampisford, even if so much cannot be said with certainty concerning those in the Balsham and Devil's ditches.

Mr Beldam appears to have set this question at rest as far as concerns the Heydon Ditch and the dykes found at about a mile and a half to the west of Royston, for which I am not acquainted with any special name. He appears to have called them the *Mile Ditches*. "They consist of three ditches very rudely cut between four banks, which commenced from a tumulus on the heath, a quarter of a mile to the south, and went straggling down to the Bassingbourn Spring-head, a distance of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, crossing the *Ickniel Way* in their course." He mentions various antiquities near to them, for an account of which I must refer to his apparently quite exhaustive paper (*Archæol. Journ.* xxv. 37). He there tells us that he caused the spot where these ditches cross the old *Ickniel Way* (now the Baldock Turnpike road) to be examined, and "ascertained that the ditches terminate on either side of the road, leaving a space of solid chalk of about 16 or 18 feet in width, over which the old road undoubtedly passed, and proving therefore the priority of the road to the ditches." Unfortunately Dr

Guest does not notice these *Mile ditches*. His general idea of the ditches was that the *Fleam* and *Devil's Ditches* are of Saxon construction, the *Heydon Ditch* was made by Cassibelaunus, the *Pampisford Ditch* by Cunobeline.

However this may be, there is no doubt that in the Saxon period they formed the boundary between East Anglia and Mercia; and that the easternmost of them marked the limit of the halidome of St Edmund's Abbey at Bury, in the time of King Cnut. Until recently also it was the boundary of the diocese of Norwich. Each of these ditches extending from fen or marshy land to a wooded country, and quite crossing the narrow open district which lay between the woods and the fen, by which alone East Anglia could be approached without great difficulty, must have presented a formidable obstacle to the usual predatory inroads which constituted so large a part of the warfare of those ages.

1. THE DEVIL'S DITCH.—This is the most easterly of these remarkable works, and by far the greatest although not the longest of them. It extends across Newmarket Heath from the fens at Reche to the woodlands at Camois Hall near Wood Ditton (Ditch town), and is nearly straight throughout, lying from north-west to south-east. It is very perfect, but more especially so at the end nearest Reche and in the neighbourhood of Stetchworth Park. Many gaps have been cut through it by filling up the ditch with the materials of the bank, and it is now impossible to determine at what dates they were made. One called the Running Gap probably allowed the ancient road (the *Peddar Way*) from Chesterford to Exning to pass; but concerning this I must refer to the remarks already made. Another permitted the *Icknield Way* to pass; and the others have been made for purposes which it is not now easy to point out. The first mention of it with which I am acquainted is that King Edward the elder fought a battle near to it (inter

duo fossata sancti Eadmundi) in the year 902, as recorded by Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Hist.* fol. 268). The other ditch was doubtless the *Balsham Dyke*. According to measurements made by Sir H. Dryden and communicated to the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, the bank is 18 feet above the level of the country, 30 feet above the bottom of the ditch, and 12 feet in width at the top; the width of the ditch is 20 feet; the length of the slope of the bank on its eastern side is 30 feet, and that of the bank and ditch together 46 feet. But these measurements differ considerably from those made by Mr A. J. Kempe, F.S.A., and communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in March, 1843. He states that at a little to the south of the Cambridge and Newmarket Road "the vallum presents an escarpment inclined at an angle of 70 degrees, which, measured along the slope, is 90 feet in length. On the top of the vallum is a *cursus* or way about 18 feet in width." The ditch is certainly very different in its proportions in different parts, and may have been so originally. I am inclined to prefer Sir H. Dryden's measurements as being nearest to the truth in most parts, although in some those of Mr Kempe are more nearly correct. Measurements of this kind are very difficult to make with complete accuracy. The part measured by Mr Kempe is certainly far less altered by filling up and degradation than is usual. It is a most magnificent work there. In its more perfect parts it probably is very nearly of its original form and size, as its surface has apparently never been disturbed since the turf first grew over it. At Stetchworth there is a rather large and almost square camp close to its western side, which may have been Roman. At Reche coins of Constans, and of the type bearing URBS ROMA, have been found; in Bottisham Fen, Roman vessels and also bronze fibulæ; in Burwell Fen, Roman vessels and a coin of Alexander Severus and Domitianus. These places lie north and south, and at a short distance from Reche. The Rev. J. Hailstone had a small Roman bronze key

found at Anglesey Abbey, and the late Lord Braybrooke a small Roman vessel dug up at Dullingham.

2. THE FLEAM OR BALSHAM DYKE.—This is seven miles to the west of the Devil's Ditch. It is not straight like the Devil's Ditch, but considerably curved in several parts of its course, to meet the requirements of the ground. It commenced at Fen Ditton (named from this Ditch, as was Wood Ditton, from the Devil's Ditch), probably close to the river Cam, just below the church, and may still be traced along the road to Quy, which is formed in part below its bank and in part upon it. At Quy bridge we lose sight of it, indeed Wilbraham Fen was a sufficient defence from that point until we arrive at Great Wilbraham. At about half a mile to the south of the latter place it commences again, and may be followed (although much reduced by cultivation) running due south to Shardlow's Well, near Fulbourn. It then shows itself in all its greatness, and continues in beautiful preservation for several miles to the south-east, until approaching Balsham it is again much injured. The depth of this ditch from the top of the bank is now, in its best preserved part, about 20 feet. The detached part near Ditton is not quite two miles in length, but the other portion, extending from Wilbraham to Balsham, is not less than six miles long. It crosses the supposed line of the *Ickniold Way* near to a tumulus called Mutlow Hill, and is said to have been filled up to allow it to pass; but of that, however probable it may be, there is no proof. As has been already stated, the *Peddar Way* seems to have passed it at the point where it forms an angle at Shardlow's Well, and where also it has been levelled at some former period.

Here again we have a line of defence drawn from the woodlands across an open chalky district to the fens. We also see how advantage was taken of the fenny spot near Wilbraham to avoid the necessity of making about two miles of artificial defence. It must be remembered that at the ancient period

when these ditches were made, the fens consisted probably of a series of islands surrounded by morasses and lakes, although not so wet as they became in the middle ages from the silting up of the outfalls of the rivers which pass through them; that a nearly detached piece of fen, like that at Wilbraham, was almost always flooded and was very probably a permanent lake; and that the Cam and other rivers ran for many miles above the true fen districts through a continuous, although often narrow, line of marshes¹. If then a fortification was made extending from the edge of the fen, or of the fenny banks of the Cam, or one of its tributaries, across the open belt of country until it reached the extensive woodlands lying towards the south-east, a very perfect security would be obtained against the cattle-driving propensities of the neighbours of those who made the ditch. We have seen that this is what was done in the case of the two ditches already noticed, and such will also be found to be the fact in the two instances which remain to be described.

3. THE BRENT OR PAMPISFORD DITCH—This is only about one mile and three quarters in length, and of slight depth. It begins at a place called Brent-ditch End at Pampisford, and extends in a nearly south-east direction through the plantations of Pampisford Hall. It may be traced to a spot close to Abington Park, but did not quite certainly terminate there, for considerable changes have been made in the arrangement of the ground: as, however, the woodland commenced thereabouts it probably did not extend much beyond that spot. Mr Hartshorne says that "it has no bank on either side," but that "the vallum was on the same side as that of the other dykes," viz. the eastern. I do not quite understand

¹ A good idea of the fen islands may be obtained from the map, derived from a survey made in the year 1604, and published in Colonel John Armstrong's *History of the Navigation of the Port of King's Lynn and of Cambridge*. Fol. London, 1767.

this remark, but an examination of it near Pampisford Hall, where it is in the best preservation, has shown that there is a low but well-marked bank on its *western* side, and no trace of one on the eastern. Mr Beldam however considered the earth to have been thrown out equally on both sides, though possibly the elevation on the western side is slightly the greatest. In the winter when the trees are leafless this is well seen. The turnpike-road which now represents the *Icknield Way* crosses it, and the ditch is filled up by the side of the road. This might be taken for the place where the old way crossed, was it not known (as I learned from the late W. P. Hamond, Esq. of Pampisford Hall) to be of recent formation. Dr Mason states (Gough's *Camden*, 141), that "towards the middle it has been filled up for the *Icknield Way* to pass over it"; and the spot referred to by him must be the site of the present road, as there is no other gap.

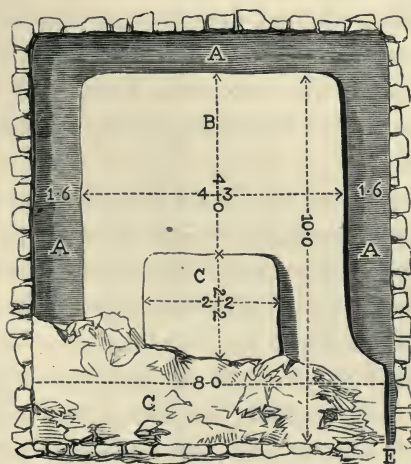
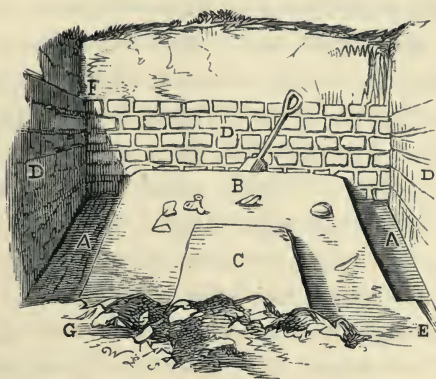
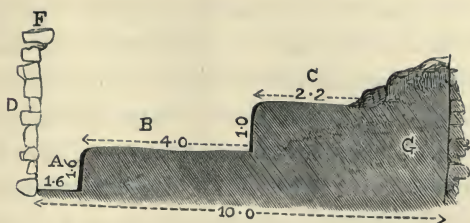
At Brent-ditch End a marshy district commences, which is connected with and continued along the course of the river Rhe, or Cam, until it joins the great level of the fens.

4. THE BRAND OR HEYDON DITCH.—It commences at the southern end of a tract of fen called Melbourn Common just at the spot where the brook (which is connected with a branch of the river Cam) that flows through the common rises at several beautiful springs. At that point its rampart and fosse were recently very conspicuous, but the latter is rendered less apparent by a hedge having been planted in it. It may be traced over the slightly undulating country for about two miles to Heydon Grange, and then up the hill for another mile to the village of Heydon.

The vallum, which was lofty, is on the eastern side, but it has been nearly levelled and the ditch filled up as far as Heydon Grange; and the remainder has been more or less levelled by the filling of the ditch and lowering of the rampart. When last I saw it, now at least 30 years since, a small part of the

rampart close to the place where it is crossed by the road from Foulmire to Barley retained its coating of turf, but I believe that even that small part of this ditch has since been destroyed. The measurements of this ditch are very difficult to determine, owing to the destructive agency of time, and more especially of modern agriculture. In places the rampart had at least seven feet of vertical elevation above the ground level. On the whole this ditch is, like the three already described, a very remarkable and interesting work. Mr Beldam estimated that the entire width of this work "from the western edge of the ditch to the eastern edge of the vallum, must have been at least 80 feet." Near to Heydon Grange, where it crosses the Icknield Way, he "ran a trench across the road, as near as possible to the point of junction, and where (if any) the ditch must have been," and "found a solid and undisturbed bottom at the depth of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet; from which the inference seems certain that the road existed before the dyke." The road referred to is not the Roman way but the British Icknield way.

The late Lord Braybrooke discovered on the summit of the hill at Heydon a chamber. "At the depth of 4 feet [the workmen] struck on three walls built with bricks of solid clunch-chalk, so as to present a longitudinal *cul de sac*. On clearing this of loose soil (apparently some kind of ash) the chamber appeared about 10 feet deep from the top, 9 long by 5 broad; the centre being occupied by a species of altar in solid clunch, attached to the end wall at the narrow or cross wall. All round three sides of this there was a passage with just room to squeeze round between it and the wall on the three sides; in the centre of this, on the floor, there was a gutter 3 inches in diameter. The remains taken from this excavation were: a good bronze bracelet, in good preservation; two or three iron instruments; one coin of Constantinus II., in brass; and a great many bullocks' horns" (*Jour. Archæol. Assoc.* III. 340).





In the next volume of the same Journal (iv. 76) Mr Joseph Clarke gave the illustrations of this curious work, reproduced on the preceding page by the kind permission of the Association. He describes "the bottom or floor," B, as consisting of "lumps of clunch forming a hard conglomerate; on this floor, at the northern part of the building, is another raised smaller portion, C [the altar of Lord Braybrooke's account], of the same material and about a foot in height. Around three sides of the floor, B, the fourth side at G being so disturbed as to defy exact location (but I judge that there could be none), is a trench, A, which was found filled with charcoal, ashes, &c.; it is about 18 inches deep, and about as much wide, terminating abruptly at E, in a peculiar, narrow, small, deep channel, not more than two or three inches in width." "Surrounding the whole is a roughly built wall, composed of irregular pieces of clunch [hard lower chalk] rudely squared; it is about four feet high from the bottom of the trench and forms one side of it. The corner, F, presents an appearance of arching, which suggests the idea of its having been domed...; but if this supposition be correct, it must have been very low, the springing of the overhanging blocks of chalk being not more than 2' 6" from the floor, B." But this curious work had doubtless no connection with the Ditch, and I have seen it stated to be one of the terminal marks of the Roman Agrimensores, concerning whom and their work an interesting account will be found in the *Archæol. Association Journal* (xxvii. 268).

Dr Guest considered the Brand Ditch to have been made at the period of the second great Belgic conquest (c. B.C. 90); the Pampisford Ditch about A.D. 30; the Fleam Ditch in the seventh century; and the Devil's Ditch at the close of the ninth century (*Archæol. Journ.* xi. 393).

[5. FOSS or DEVIL'S DYKE in NORFOLK.—At the edge of my map there will be seen two detached ditches and banks which are much slighter than the ditches of Cambridgeshire.

The bank of the southern of them was about nine feet thick with the ditch on its eastern side. The height of the bank above the ditch can scarcely have exceeded seven feet. The northern ditch also has its trench towards the east, and it was shallower. The bank (excluding the trench) is about seven feet high. Mr Woodward, in his map of Roman Norfolk, marks this as being a British road from Brandon by Oxburg to Narburgh Camp; but his view does not appear to be borne out by the course it seems really to take. It has more probably been a line of defence, like the Cambridgeshire ditches; for it commences abruptly at the river side at Brandon, not being discoverable on the south side of the fen, and towards the north it terminates at the fenny district of the Stoke River, near Cranwick: this is the southern part called *Foss* or *Devil's Dyke*. The northern part, also called *Devil's Dyke*, appears similarly to cross a dry district between fens. It probably commenced at Beachamwell by the fen side, not at Oxburg, which lies to the south of this fen district, and extended to Narburgh on the fen by the side of the river Nar. See Map in the *Archæologia*, xxiii., or Woodward's *Norwich Castle*.]

V. THE CAR DYKE.

To the north of Peterborough the ancient ditch or canal called the *Car Dyke* is well known, and therefore, as that part of it is altogether out of our county, no description of it is requisite in this treatise. Its channel is stated to have there been 60 feet in width, with a broad flat bank upon each side (*Rep. &c. of Assoc. Archit. Soc.* i. 338).

To the south of Peterborough the state of things is very different: indeed it may be doubted if any antiquary, except Stukeley, has felt convinced that it really did extend into Cambridgeshire.

The origin of the *Car Dyke* is altogether unknown, although it is perhaps rightly ascribed to the Romans. Stukeley thought that "Car" was a contraction of Carausius, to whom he referred nearly every ancient work in this part of England. If we could see any proof that he did perform even a small part of what Stukeley attributes to him, he would indeed deserve to be considered as a benefactor to the country, and lauded as he was by his above-named historian. We know very little concerning him; the history of his time being lost: and it seems peculiarly bold to attempt the compilation of an account of his reign from his coins alone. It cannot be denied that Stukeley has shewn singular ingenuity in the attempt that he made to do this, and the extensive learning and large collection of facts recorded in his book must always make it of great value to the antiquary.

Stukeley, as has been already stated, called Cambridge GRANTA, and supposed that it was founded by Carausius at the southern end of the *Car Dyke*, which he considered either to have been made, or, at any rate, restored by him from a useless state. He supposed it to have been formed to act as a navigable canal from the corn-country of this part of England to York. He states that the same Emperor established Stourbridge Fair as part of this great plan of internal communication. I confess that this, and many other things in the *M. daltic History of Carausius*, are quite beyond my powers of belief.

The emperor Julian, according to his own written testimony, (*Orat. ad S. P. Q. Atheniensem*) employed no less than six hundred vessels in the exportation of corn and flour to supply the towns and fortresses on the Rhine at about the middle of the fourth century. To meet a sudden call of this kind the cultivation of Britain must have been far more general in the time of the Romans than we moderns have usually been inclined to allow. Gibbon (ed. 1825, ii. 427) thought that each vessel might be of 70 tons' burthen (a very small allowance), and

thus calculated that they were capable of exporting 120,000 quarters of grain.

One of Stukeley's remarks concerning Stourbridge Fair may amuse the readers of this treatise. He says, "Memorials of the antiquity of the fair, and of the religious observances there performed in Roman times, are kept up in several particulars; as of the Arch-flamen of Granta, in the Vice-Chancellor of the University, proclaiming it with much solemnity: of divine service, and a sermon celebrated in a pulpit set up for the purpose, on the two Sundays, in the chief part of the fair called the Duddery." (*Caraus.* i. 206.)

✓ An account of this very important fair will be found in *Nichols's Biblioth. Topog. Britan.* (v. 73), where a plan of the fair is given, and a number of deeds relating to it. It was granted to the Hospital for Lepers by King John, and the place was then called Steresbrig. See also *Rogers's Hist. of Agric. Prices* (i. 141). He considers it to have been by far the most important in the east and south of England, and gives a full account of it. It occupied a space of about half a mile square, and separate streets were appropriated to separate trades. It lasted for three weeks, commencing on the 18th of September. A curious account of the fair in 1789 will be found in *Gunning's Reminiscences* (i. 162—173). ✓

But to proceed to the consideration of the supposed southern part of the *Car Dyke*. It seems highly probable that there was a navigable cut through the district forming the edge of the fens, and one of the courses laid down by Stukeley may very likely belong to it. Of the two routes to be found described in his works, it is best totally to neglect that given in Part I. (pp. 199, 200) of the *Medallic History*, for in Part II. (p. 137), which was published several years after the first part, he has quite changed his views on the subject, and reverted nearly to the account which he had long before given in his *Paleographia*. He says, "just below Cambridge

the artificial cut opens into the river, runs along the side of it, taking the benefit of higher water, for half a mile" (*Car.* 199); and it may be presumed, therefore, that he supposed it to commence near Milton. "A little above Waterbeche," as he says in another place (*Paleog.* ii. 38), "begins our famous *Car Dyke*. The bed of this artificial cut is very plain from hence, quite across the fen, through Cottenham parish until it enters the Old Ouse." Along this river it passed to Earith. He then continues it "by Ramsey to Suard's Dyke;.....then the boats passed by Benwick, where Roman coins have been found; so by Whittlesey Mere, or some cut by the side of it, to Horsey Bridge, where Roman coins too are found, and so to Peterborough river" (*Paleog.* ii. 38). By this he probably means, that from Earith it followed the West Water to Benwick, near Ramsey Mere, but in Cambridgeshire. In the second part of the *Medallic History*, he says, that "at Waterbech.....it begins with a fair and large artificial channel, proceeding by the windmill north-westward. The ditch now has water in it in several places" (p. 133). Singularly, Dugdale considered this as a branch of the Cam; his words are:—"The river Grant, by a fair channel passing from Beach to Chare Fen, in Cottenham, and so into Ouse, was diverted; and by a straighter course turned down by another branch of the same river to Harrimere, where it loseth the name" (*Embank.* 373). Any persons who have carefully examined the country will I am convinced agree with me in believing that Dugdale was here depending upon incorrect information. Stukeley remarks that the country people had a notion that the Ouse originally ran by this course into the Cam, but adds that it has "not the least appearance of a natural river," and I quite agree with him.

Near Waterbeche the channel of the supposed *Car Dyke* is still very apparent. and, after leaving the fenny land by the Cam, consists of an enormously broad and deep artificial cut having not the least resemblance to a natural watercourse. It

seems undoubtedly to be a very ancient and magnificent work. It is called by the people the *Old Tillage* or *Twilade*. Now to *twilade* means in some local dialects to "load, unload, then return for a second and take up the first load" (*Halliwell's Dictionary*); just as is done at what is called a *Portage* in the Hudson's Bay Territory. Can this have been a portage between the Cam and waters to the east of Cottenham (in what is called Cottenham Common on the Ordnance Map) where there is a large channel even now extending from Goose Farm to Lockspit Hall on the banks of the Old Ouse or West Water? Stukeley says that it "runs by Chare Fen in the parish of Cottenham and passes into the present river called the Old Ouse, going to the great wooden bridge upon Audrey causeway, whence it goes along the present channel of the river westwards to Earith" (*Car.* i. 133); but I cannot find the position of Chare Fen. It is not marked on Wall's map or noticed in his book. "At Earith the *Car Dyke*, entering Huntingdonshire, crosses the Huntingdon river.....and proceeds northwards in that stream now called the West Water to Benwick, then by that stream called the Old Nen or Whittlesey Dyke to Peterborough" (*Car.* ii. 136). Notice has already been taken of *Cnut's Dyke* supposed to have been a road in connection with the navigation in this part of its course, and the *King Street* to have been of similar use to the north of Peterborough. Dugdale remarks concerning the channel by the side of this road, that "about two miles distant from the north-east side of the above-specified mere [Whittlesey], there is a memorable channel cut through the body of the fen, extending itself from near Ramsey to Peterborough, and is called King's Delph. The common tradition is, that King Canutus, or his queen, being in some peril, in their passage from Ramsey to Peterborough, by reason of the boisterousness of the waves on Whittlesey Mere, caused this ditch to be first made. And therewith do some of our historians agree who say thus: 'Anno Domini MXXXIV. Cnuto,

rex potentissimus, viam in marisco, inter Ramsey et Burgum, quod *King's Delph* dicitur, ut periculum magnorum stagnorum vitaretur, eruderavit' (Matth. Westm. *Annales*). But how to reconcile this testimony with what I meet with three-score years before, I know not; which is that King Edgar confirming to the monks of Peterborough the fourth part of Whittlesey Mere.....says [the boundaries extend] 'orientaliter ad King's Delf.''' (*Embank.* 363.) (See *Codex Diplom. Ævi Saxon.* iii. 93.) After these long and rather complicated extracts, I must now leave my readers to form their own opinion concerning the probability of these very ancient cuts being part of a great plan of the Romans in continuation southward of the *Car Dyke*. It seems improbable that the Saxons can have made them at so early a period as that at which one part of them at least is shown to have existed; and the traditional name of King's Delph, in conjunction with the *King's Street* to the north, may add weight to the supposition of both being of Roman origin; and we have already seen that many Roman antiquities have been found near the line of this supposed canal, as in Cottenham Parish, near Haddenham and at Earith.

VI. OLD COURSE OF THE RIVERS.

BEFORE concluding this sketch of the ancient lines of communication and earth-works of Cambridgeshire, it may be desirable to point out the old courses of the rivers that pass through the Fens. They are the Nen, the Great Ouse, the Cam, and the Little Ouse rivers. The Nen on arriving at Peterborough turned to the right; and making a circuit through

Whittlesey, Ugg and Ramsey Meres, passed then in a pretty direct course by March to Wisbech. At Peterborough it seems to have thrown off a branch to join the Welland near Croyland.

The great Ouse enters the fens near Earith, at which place it formerly forked, its chief branch flowing by Harrimere, Ely and Littleport, then by what is now called the Welney river to Wisbech, where, in conjunction with the Nen, its waters reached the sea. The other branch of the Ouse ran from Earith to Benwick, where it joined the main channel of the Nen. Both these channels are now nearly or quite closed to the waters of the Ouse, which are carried by the Bedford rivers in a direct line to Denver, and there poured into the channel of the Little Ouse to reach the sea at Lynn.

A little above Cambridge the Cam or Grant river is formed by the junction of three small streams, called *Cam*, and *Rhe*, and one nameless. *Cam* and *Rhe* are ancient Celtic names meaning *Cam*, a crooked or meandering stream, *Rhe*, a swift stream from *rhedig* to run; these terms are very descriptive of our streams. I am indebted for these interpretations of the words to the late very eminent Welsh scholars the Rev. John Williams (ab Ithel), and the Rev. R. Williams of Rhydygroesau (*Arch. Cambrensis*, Ser. 3, iii. 219).

The Cam, although it changes its name to Ouse at Harrimere, where it originally joined that river on its way to Wisbech, does now really extend by way of Ely and Prickwillow to Denver; for, except in case of very great floods, not a drop of Ouse water enters it before that place is reached.

The Little Ouse is the present channel of the Great Ouse from Denver to Lynn.

It is thus seen that nearly all the water which reached the great level found its natural outlet at Wisbech (a word reasonably derived from Ouse beach), where originally the channel was deep enough to afford a natural drainage to the country.

In process of time this outlet became choked, and the rivers changed their course or were diverted by artificial means.

I have now only to add an expression of my hope that this attempt may lead others far better qualified for the task than I can pretend to be, to follow up the study of the traces left by the ancient inhabitants of our district, and to cause the production by some other member of the University of a more complete treatise on this interesting subject.

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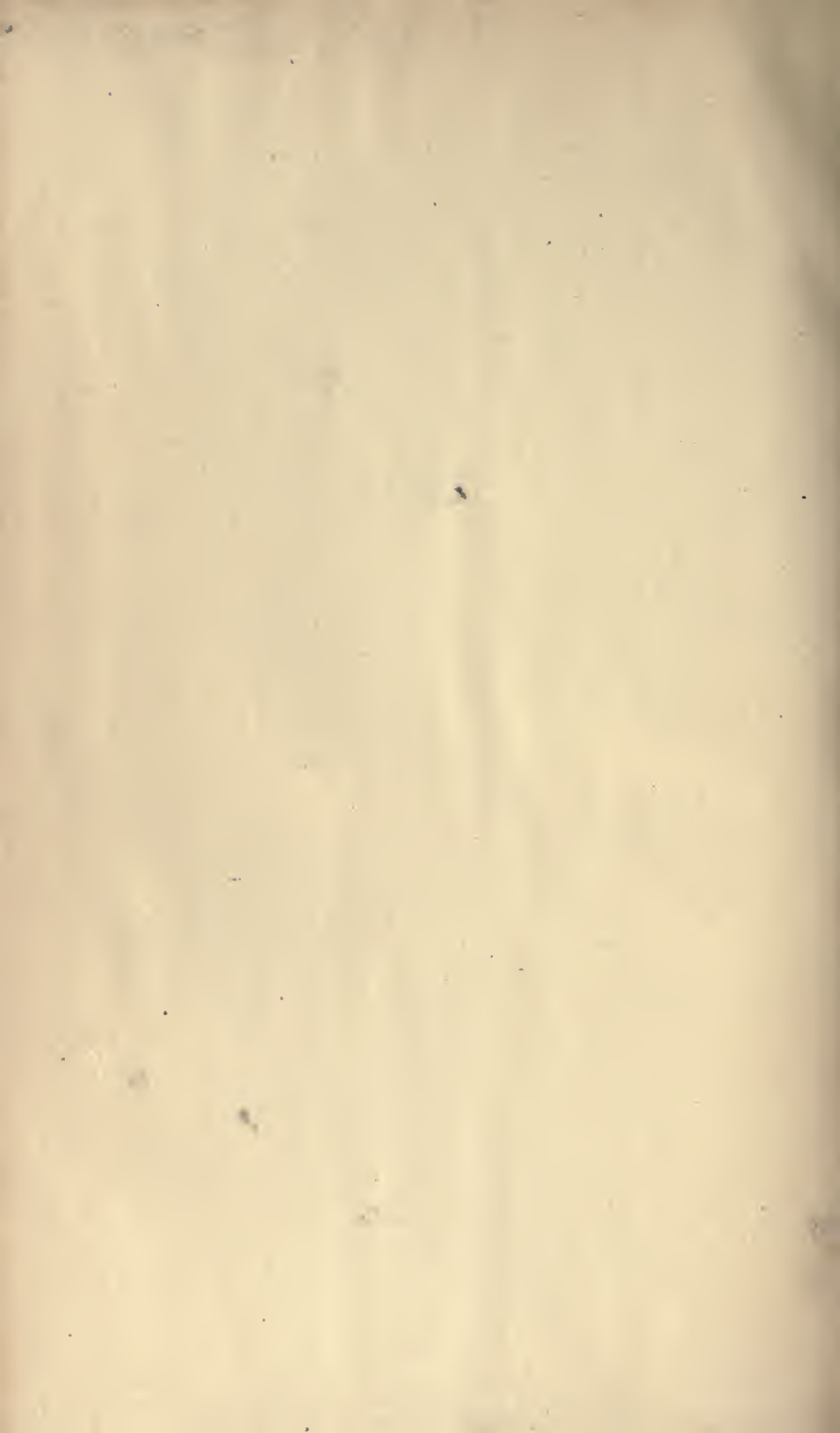
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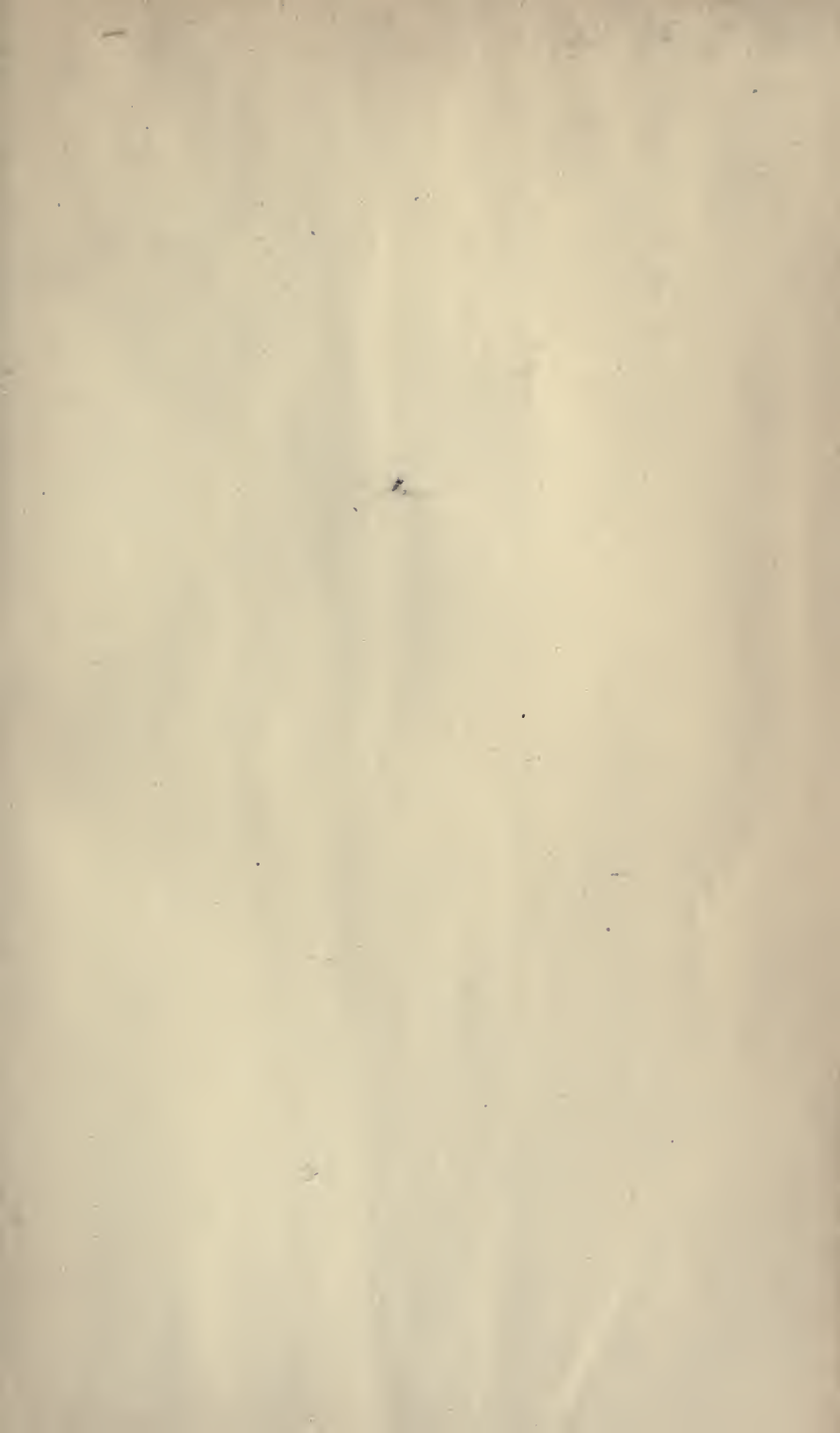
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